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## Rabin, Clinton to meet today

HILLEL KUTTLER  
WASHINGTON

IMPLEMENTATION of the accord with the PLO and progress toward an agreement with Syria are expected to dominate the agenda at today's White House meeting between Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and President Bill Clinton.

US officials said last week that the two were unable to discuss these matters adequately during the president's brief visit to Jerusalem last month.

Reports also say the two will discuss the case of Jonathan Pollard, who was arrested on charges of spying for Israel nine years ago today. He was convicted in 1987.

Amnon Dror, of the Public Committee for Pollard, said yesterday in Tel Aviv that Pollard had appealed to Rabin before his trip to raise the possibility of clemency during his meeting with Clinton.

The National Students Union in Israel, youth groups, and several MKs had also sent telegrams to Rabin on the matter, from reported. Dozens of similar messages were reportedly received by the White House and the Israeli Embassy in Washington.

Rabin's visit comes just two weeks following the Republican election victories that will give them control of both houses of Congress in January.

Rabin will meet here tomorrow with soon-to-be Senate majority leader Robert Dole (R-Kansas), as well as Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) and Rep. Robert Livingston (R-Louisiana), who will head key committees dealing with foreign aid. He is also scheduled to speak with Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC), the new head of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Israel Radio reported yesterday that Dole came out against Rabin's proposal to station US troops on the Golan Heights as part of an overall settlement between Israel and Syria.

Rabin is also scheduled to meet separately with Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Defense Secretary William Perry, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff John Shalikashvili and Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros.

Sarah Honig adds: Dole spoke by phone yesterday with Likud leader Binyamin Netanyahu, who is currently in the US. During the conversation, Netanyahu noted that Dole had objected to the notion of American soldiers on the Golan as far back as six months ago, and that this was not a new stance resulting from any Likud lobbying in the US.

Netanyahu also told Dole that while Israelis do not agree about American soldiers on the Golan and while he himself does not want Americans to be risking their lives here, there is no dispute among Israelis regarding American foreign aid. Both the opposition and the government want to see it continued, he said.

## Hizbullah claims 12 SLA soldiers have defected to its ranks

DAVID RUDGE

HIZBULLAH claimed last night in a broadcast on its own television station that 12 South Lebanese Army soldiers defected to its ranks on Saturday night.

There was no confirmation from any reliable source, and The Jerusalem Post was told that the claim was baseless.

Hizbullah announced in the broadcast that 12 SLA men had "escaped to liberated parts of south Lebanon."

"This is the proper response to claims that the SLA is strong, united, and has not been weakened by the Islamic Resistance's attacks," the statement said.

The statement linked IDF activity on Saturday night to the alleged disappearance of the 12. See earlier story, p.2



Paratroopers from Sgt.-Maj. Gil Dadon's unit weep at his funeral in Tel Aviv yesterday. Inset: Gil Dadon.

## Slain soldier's father says army using troops at Netzarim as cannon fodder

ALON PINKAS

THE father of Sgt.-Maj. Gil Dadon, the reservist killed at the Netzarim junction in Gaza on Saturday, charged yesterday that the army had become politicized and said the paratroop unit in which his son served is being used as cannon fodder.

A unnamed soldier serving in Dadon's unit also told Israel Radio that the soldiers had not received proper equipment.

Eulogizing his son, Eli Dadon said, "I appeal to this unit, a select and accomplished unit. You have been used as cannon fodder. Since politics entered the army, the army is finished."

He said it was inconceivable that the company was pulled back in the morning, when it confronted a large mob of demonstrators, only to be returned to the outpost in the afternoon.

Gil Dadon, 26, of Bat Yam, was buried in the military section of the Kiryat Shaul cemetery in Tel Aviv, next to Yehzekel Sapir, one of the officers killed in the suicide bicycle attack the previous week. Dadon is survived by his parents, a sister, his wife Eti and son, Yarden.

The army had considered replacing the company, which had lost four men in eight days and was clearly shaken, with another company from the brigade. But it was decided that it would be best to return it to the outpost.

"At the risk of going to jail for speaking my mind and telling the truth, I want to tell you that essential equipment we usually use was missing," the unnamed unit member told Israel Radio.

In response, OC Southern Command Maj.-Gen. Shaul Mofaz said the company had the standard equipment issued to all combat units carrying out similar tasks.

Army sources later said that the soldiers at the Netzarim junction are "fully equipped."

"These soldiers complained last week, after the suicide bicycle attack, to Prime Minister Yitzhak

Rabin and Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Ehud Barak that they were missing essential combat and personal equipment," an IDF source said. "All these shortages had been replenished during the week."

"The only major piece of equipment that the company does not have is a specially-protected patrol jeep," the source continued. "As a matter of priority, those vehicles are given to mobile units engaged in road patrols. Netzarim is a fixed post, protected by fortified concrete pillars."

The source added that the soldier that gave the radio interview was profoundly upset and that his grievances were the result of a perfectly understandable state of mind.

A General Staff officer said that, given that dismantling the settlement at Netzarim is not an option at this point, there was no solution but to maintain the outpost as is.

"You could conceivably surround Netzarim with tanks and order them to fire whenever someone advances," the officer said. "You could also change the open-fire guidelines and authorize the soldiers to shoot to kill in the event of anyone approaching the outpost, certainly if it is a large mob. That could end in hundreds of deaths, and I don't know what that would achieve."

Many ministers defended the decision to evacuate the IDF outpost 1.5 km from Netzarim when the mob approached, but Housing Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer complained that however justified the decision, it created a public perception of retreat.

"The outpost's location, which is outside Netzarim, comes under the responsibility of the Palestinian Authority," Police Minister Moshe Shaleh told reporters after yesterday's cabinet meeting.

Under the agreement with the

PLO, the Palestinian Authority is obligated to quell any Palestinian violence in this area. The IDF protects Jewish settlers from a military installation inside Netzarim.

Barak said the move could not be considered a retreat, and several ministers, including Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, said it had prevented a lot of bloodshed.

But Ben-Eliezer said, "What is bad is how this all looks to the public. I realize that evacuations are in keeping with prior agreements. But it appears to the public like [Hamas] just captured two Jims."

The discussion on Netzarim sparked renewed calls to move, if not dismantle, the settlement.

Tourism Minister Uzi Baram questioned why soldiers should be killed defending a settlement that nobody believes has any security value.

Labor Minister Ora Namir said the settlement should be moved to Gush Katif, so it would be easier to protect.

However, Rabin has declared that no settlements will be moved during the interim period agreed on in the Oslo accords.

Sarah Honig adds: The Likud called on the government to "suspend all talks with the PLO until Yasser Arafat demonstrates some ability to control events in Gaza Strip."

"The Netzarim incidents point to a total collapse not only of the agreements with the PLO, but of the very concept which underlies the agreements," the party said in a statement. "If the PLO either cannot or lacks the will to control Gaza and prevent terrorism from its bounds, then there is no point in making agreements with it and further concessions to it."

Tsomet's Raphael Eitan called ordering soldiers at the Netzarim outpost to pull back in the face of attacks "an unprecedented shame. The trouble is in the orders. A soldier's best defense is his weapon, but our soldiers are told not to pull the trigger."

## Hamas, PLO try to pin blame on Israel for Gaza killings

THE Palestinian Authority and Islamic fundamentalists will both try to blame Israel for Friday's rioting and shooting in Gaza City, to avoid revenge attacks against each other, Israeli Arabs mediating between the two sides said.

The two sides have not yet agreed on who should head an inquiry committee to determine what happened outside the Palestine Mosque, where at least 14 people were killed and over 200 wounded in street battles, Hamas activists who participated in meetings with the mediators said.

Preventive Security police in Gaza said they had arrested some 20 collaborators in connection with the violence, Palestinian sources reported.

Gaza police, who released several Islamic Jihad members yesterday, would not confirm the arrests, but said collaborators were suspected of involvement.

Speaking to Israeli reporters in the US, Prime Minister Rabin said: "I really hope [Arafat] hasn't lost control. What's the alternative? Hamas? That will be better?"

He added that stopping the peace process would be rewarding its enemies.

Israel Television reported that Rabin and Arafat will meet in Spain on Thursday to discuss the situation in Gaza.

The FA and the fundamentalists have agreed that a popular committee, headed by Gaza lawyer Fayez Abu Rahme, will decide on steps to restore peace and public order. But there has been no agreement on who should head a judicial inquiry committee to examine the riot itself.

In the mediated talks between Hamas and Arafat, each side was adamant that it did not start the riot, so any inquiry which blames

JON IMMANUEL and agencies

one side or the other is likely to be rejected.

Deputy Agriculture Minister Walid Sadek, a member of the Israeli Arab mediation team, said after meeting with Hamas spokesman Dr. Mahmud Zahar that "there is a sharp dispute over who was responsible. Hamas wants Arafat to bend towards it and says collaborators are to blame."

Arafat later implied that collaborators were involved.

In a meeting last night with notables from Jerusalem, he said a policeman was seriously wounded when an assassin shot at Zahar during the riot. He said Zahar was saved only because another policeman pushed him, journalists present at the meeting reported.

A Hamas supporter in Zahar's home during the meeting with the mediators said the Islamic fundamentalists believe "the Israelis are responsible because they always put the Palestinian Authority under pressure."

He said there are no direct talks now with Arafat because Hamas feels it is more important to restore calm in the streets.

"What is important now is to see what happens in the streets. The feeling of all the people is that the police attacked people at prayer," the supporter said.

But the man in the street is not necessarily blaming Israel. At a Hamas memorial meeting yesterday, one young speaker said, "The Palestinian police did what the Jews never did."

Diverting blame toward Israel would serve the immediate political interests of the Islamic and PLO leadership without contradicting eyewitness accounts of what happened at the mosque. The police claim that shots were fired at them, and Hamas claims its people did not carry guns. The two accounts can be reconciled if

collaborators did the shooting.

The two sides can't even agree on how many people were killed. Fifteen is the most common number cited, but only 14 names have been published, as the Palestinian Authority has not revealed the name of the policeman it said was killed. Hamas says no policeman was killed.

Israel would pay the price of such a reconciliation, however, Sadek said.

He said the Israeli Arab team is trying to find a different formula for assigning responsibility that would satisfy both sides without blaming Israel. "We don't have one yet, but with the help of the richness of the Arabic language, we'll find a way," Sadek said.

Arafat, meanwhile, angered at the slow pace of talks with Israel, said he may call for Palestinian elections without waiting for Israeli approval.

"The Palestinian Authority will resort to conducting the elections from one side, if Israel continues to stall and not respond to the Palestinian proposals," he told Egypt's *Al-Ahram* daily.

The talks on elections were to have resumed in Cairo today, but have been put off until at least November 29 because of the recent violence.

It was unclear how Arafat would proceed with elections, although he suggested he would seek outside help.

The Palestinians have called for elections before year's end, but Israeli officials say they are unlikely before mid-1995.

David Makovsky adds: Israeli officials sought to avoid public comment on Friday's incident, fearing it could only undermine Arafat.

At yesterday's cabinet meeting, ministers were less inhibited, saying Arafat needs to be helped economically in a variety of ways. (Continued on Page 2)

## 'Explosives for suicide bombings smuggled from Egypt'

DAVID MAKOVSKY and ALON PINKAS

THE explosives used in recent Islamic suicide attacks, including the Tel Aviv bus bombing, originate in Egypt, a senior security official told the cabinet yesterday.

He said the explosives have been smuggled from Egypt through a tunnel into Rafiah and by way of sea. Sources admit that tunneling from the Egyptian side occurred before Palestinian self-rule began in Gaza.

It remains unclear whether the smugglers are Hamas activists or a different Islamic group.

Tunnels leading from Egypt into the Gaza Strip were dug several years ago by drug smugglers, and Israel and the Palestinian Authority have discussed ways to seal them indefinitely, an army source said last night.

The source said the tunnels lead from Egyptian

territory into Rafiah, which is part Egyptian and part within the Palestinian self-rule area.

"During the Cairo negotiations and after that we raised the issue with the Palestinians who seemed intent on sealing them to prevent drugs from being smuggled in. I know that several tunnels have been shut with concrete, but there seem to be more," he said.

Egypt's ambassador to Israel Mohammed Bassiouny was unavailable for comment.

Dr. Ahmed Tibi, a top aide of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, said he did not know of such tunnels firsthand.

"But I would not be surprised if there are attempts like this," Tibi told Israel TV. "There were attempts like this over the years. Drug smugglers also used these methods."

## TONIGHT

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# More ministers call to move Netzarim

NETZARIM was on the firing line at the cabinet for the second week in a row yesterday, as Ora Namir and Yair Tzaban said the settlement of 30 families should be moved. Similar sentiments were voiced last week by Yossi Sarid and Ya'acov Tsur.

And, for the second week in a row, Gaza settlement leaders responded that the terrorists should not be rewarded by uprooting a settlement.

Four soldiers have been killed at the Netzarim Junction in 10 days.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said last week that no settlements, including Netzarim, would be moved during the interim period of the agreement with the PLO.

Netzarim general-secretary Shlomo Kostiner said that those calling for the settlement's removal should not harbor illusions that if it is moved, terror will stop.

"Do they really think that if Netzarim were not here, there would be no terror?" he asked. "Since the beginning of the year, some 50 soldiers have been killed

in Lebanon. Does that mean the settlements in the north should be removed?"

Kostiner said the Netzarim Junction has turned into a magnet for terror acts because Hamas saw last month that soldiers are willing to leave their outpost if under attack by rioters. IDF troops withdrew from the outpost for a few hours in October when hundreds of Hamas activists converged on the junction, set tires alight and

threw stones. "What happened on Shabbat, when the Palestinians raised their flag on an IDF outpost needs to worry us as much as Hizbullah raising its flag on the outpost in Lebanon. This will be interpreted by the enemy as weakness, and will invite more attacks."

Gaza Coast Regional Council head Zvi Hendel said the problem is not the IDF, but the government that has ordered the soldiers to leave their post in the face of a mob and let the Palestinian Police

deal with the matter. "A terrorist doesn't look at the fine print of the arrangements," Hendel said. "If he goes to an outpost and sees soldiers running away, he will come back next time and shoot."

Hendel said that what happened over the weekend needs to concern the entire country, and not just the residents of Gush Katif and Netzarim. "If a soldier sees a terrorist, he needs to shoot him, not run away," Hendel said. "Nothing else works."

# Settler leaders deny Rafiah Yam people want to go

HERB KEINON

CONTRARY to media reports that many of the families living in Rafiah Yam in Gush Katif are clamoring to leave the settlement, only four of 22 families have expressed a desire to leave, Gaza Coast Regional Council head Zvi Hendel said yesterday.

Earlier in the day, Hagar Biton, filling in as general secretary of the settlement, said on Israel Radio that some of the residents there want to leave.

"The security situation has changed since we came, as has the economic situation," Biton told the radio. "Today the situation here is different."

Housing Ministry sources, however, said the ministry has received no inquiries from any family wishing to leave Rafiah Yam.

Rafiah Yam is the southernmost settlement in Gaza, located near the border with Egypt. It is one of three secular settlements in Gush Katif; the other 11 are religious. Only four of the families on Rafiah Yam work in agriculture. The rest are employed in various jobs outside the settlement.

"We live one-half meter from Rafiah, where there are hundreds of thousands of people," Biton said during the radio interview. "I don't have anything against them, but I am afraid to be so close to them."

Biton said that it is financially impossible for her to pick up one morning and just move, since it will be difficult to sell her home; nor can she absorb the financial loss and leave without selling her home.

A hotline set up after the Hebron massacre for settlers who want to leave their settlements bore no fruit, she said, as Prime Minister Rabin told the organizers - Labor MKs Hagai Meir and Avraham Burg - to drop the idea.

"Now there is no one to talk to, we feel abandoned," she said. "We are very small. We feel like hostages."

Naomi Salimi, another Rafiah Yam resident, has a completely different outlook. She agreed with Hendel that only a few families actually want to leave.

"We are burning up over what Biton said in the media," she said. "Nine of the families here are renting. They would have no problem going elsewhere, but opt to stay because they like it here. Hagar Biton spoke in her name only."

Hendel said that in every settlement there are people with financial or employment difficulties who would like to leave, and that the percentage of these is no higher or lower in Gush Katif.

Michal Yudelman contributed to this report.

## Soldier wounded on patrol in Lebanon

DAVID RUDGE

A SOLDIER was moderately wounded in an Hizbullah attack on a patrol in the central sector of the security zone early yesterday morning.

He was treated evacuated by helicopter to Haifa's Rambam Hospital with a bullet wound in the chest.

Deputy hospital director Dr. Zvi Ben-Israel said the soldier underwent surgery and was in satisfactory condition.

The incident occurred in the region of the Beaufort castle, which has been the scene of several ambushes and long-range attacks on IDF and South Lebanese Army convoys and patrols.

Military sources said IDF troops were on operational duties in the Ali Tahr hills, not far from Beaufort, when they came under automatic weapons fire from relatively close range.

The sources said the troops returned fire, although there were no immediate reports of casualties among the attackers.



Army medics evacuate a soldier who was wounded when a patrol came under fire in the security zone yesterday. (Avihu Shapira/Israel Sun)

IDF and SLA gunners blasted suspected terrorist positions north of the zone with artillery and tank fire, and helicopter gunships were also reported to be in operation.

Hizbullah, in a statement issued in Beirut, claimed responsibility for the attack, saying its fighters

had ambushed an IDF patrol.

One unconfirmed report carried by news agencies said it appeared that the gunmen had attacked the IDF patrol from a passing car. Another version, however, said the attackers had waited in ambush and opened fire at the IDF troops from prepared positions.

Lebanese radio stations also reported that SLA gunners had opened fire at gunmen seen moving in the Barasheet region, in the western sector of the zone yesterday morning.

Meanwhile, Hizbullah is continuing its intensified psychological war against the SLA with radio

and television broadcasts and leaflets calling on the "collaborators to repent or die."

Senior Hizbullah politburo official Hassan Huballah said Hizbullah had "come a long way in destroying [SLA commander Antoine] Lahad's army."

## SOCIAL & PERSONAL

The 12th H.R. Lindner Memorial Lecture was delivered at the Weizmann Institute of Science yesterday, by Prof. Donald W. Pfaff, Rockefeller University, who discussed "Genes, Sex Behavior, and Brain Function." Prof. Nava Dekel, head of the Department of Hormone Research, was in the chair.

The monthly luncheon of the Skol Club Tel Aviv will take place today, Monday, Nov. 21, at 1:00 p.m., at the Tel Aviv Sheraton. Guest speaker: Haim Stoessel, Chairman of Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.

## BLAME

(Continued from Page 1)

Labor Minister Ora Namir called for a lifting of the closure of the territories, as a way of improving the economic situation there. Yet, exactly a month ago, after the Tel Aviv bus bombing, she had called for an indefinite closure of the territories, saying otherwise the government could fall.

The Palestinian Authority's actions in dealing with an angry crowd is similar to the problem that the IDF faced at the start of the intifada, IDF officers told the cabinet. In neither case were the troops equipped to deal with rioting, they said.

## Shohat: Gaza economic collapse threatens peace

JOSE ROSENFELD

Israel will have difficulty in reaching peace accords with other Arab countries. He reiterated that the economic situation in Gaza is not only a Palestinian matter, but of importance to Israelis seeking peace.

Shohat described the economic situation in Gaza as very difficult, due to its dependence on Israel,

which has recently closed its doors to Gaza's workers and produce.

Vegetable imports from Gaza, which stood at 250,000 tons annually before the autonomy agreement, now stand at, nearly, zero, Shohat said.

He added that the donor nations have not met their commitments for financial aid to the Palestinian Authority.

## Talks progress on lowering COL increase - and cutting health tax

JOSE ROSENFELD

FINANCE Minister Avraham Shohat said yesterday that while there had been progress in the negotiations between employers and the Histadrut to cut the cost-of-living wage adjustment by about 3 percent, "I would not say that the agreement has been completed."

The Treasury has proposed to reduce the cost-of-living wage adjustment in return for a 1.5% cut in the health tax and a 0.5% cut in the National Insurance Institute employee tax. The proposal aims to preserve the workers' buying power, while reducing the employers' labor costs - a means to curb rising inflation.

Although Shohat admitted that the profitability of exports has dropped somewhat, he rejected the need for a devaluation. He added that the "crawling peg" exchange rate system provides for a systematic devaluation of the shekel.

One has to add to that devaluation the inflation rate in the export target countries, said Shohat. He also noted that the shekel's strength against the dollar, reflects the latter's weakness against the mark and the yen.

Despite the fact that unemployment has fallen by nearly a third, from 11.2% to 7.5%, Shohat quoted polls showing that 70% of the public believes that unemployment has not come down. Since unemployment figures are well publicized, Shohat blamed this misconception on misleading statements by his fellow ministers and coalition MKs.

"It is unimaginable that the government has an image of not dealing with social issues, when its performance record shows that there is no government which has done as much in such a short time in this and other areas," Shohat said.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Palestinian police threaten MKs

MKs Eli Dayan (Labor) and Alex Goldfarb (Yit'ud) were threatened by Palestinian policemen while on a tour of the settlements in northern Gaza yesterday. Eight policemen, several dressed only in partial uniforms, approached them near Eilat Sinai, armed their Kalashnikovs and released the safety catch. They asked why they were in an area the policemen claimed was part of the autonomy. After much discussion, the MKs were allowed to continue their tour.

### Fatah man gets life for murdering farmer

The Khan Yunis man convicted of murdering Gush Katif farmer Shaya Deutsch in March 1993, was sentenced to life imprisonment plus 15 years by the Gaza Military Court yesterday. Salah Ziyad Meklad, 21, who worked in Deutsch's greenhouse, was a Fatah activist who was apprehended a few months ago while trying to enter Israel. Two of his accomplices began working for the Palestinian Police a few months ago, according to Palestinian sources.

### PBS documentary on Islamic extremists airs Wednesday

On Wednesday, Channel 1 is scheduled to screen a documentary exposing the extent of Islamic extremist activity in the US, including activity by Hamas and Islamic Jihad. The program, *Jihad in America*, will be aired only one day after it is aired by the Public Broadcasting System in the US. It will be broadcast at 9 p.m. as part of the program *Conference Call*, and will be followed by a panel discussion.

The film includes clips taken from the archives of Israel Television. The showing of the documentary so soon after it is aired in the US was part of the agreement ITV reached with the film's producer when he purchased the clips.

## Jordan/Israel monitoring committee meets to lay groundwork for future

DAVID RUDGE

MEMBERS of the Jordanian/Israeli committee to monitor implementation of the peace treaty and iron out any problems held a preliminary meeting yesterday to help lay the groundwork for its first official meeting, scheduled next week in Amman.

The Israeli delegation was headed by Dr. Elyakim Rubinstein; the Jordanian team by Hani Mulki, personal adviser to Crown Prince Hassan.

The meeting, in the offices of the Beit She'an Valley Regional Council, was cordial and there were no reports of either side raising any pressing problems, despite some complaints about delays in Jordanians receiving Israeli visas.

Rubinstein said the committee would deal with all aspects relating to the implementation of the peace

accord, ranging from economic and business ties to marking the new border.

"We hope that the committee will ensure the implementation, in the course of the coming nine months, of all the agreements contained in the accord," he said.

"This is in a wide range of matters such as economics, tourism, transport, environmental and energy issues, science and culture, as well as as concrete matters relating to marking out the border," he said.

Rubinstein added that work on the border marking was expected to begin next week.

Members of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee toured the border line yesterday and expressed satisfaction over the arrangements.

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**LEILA VALERO**

passed away in Jerusalem on Sunday, November 20, 1994.

The funeral will leave from Sanhedria today, Monday, at 12 noon, for Givat Shaul cemetery.

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deeply mourns the passing of

**GERTRUDE GOLDBERG**

Honorary National Financial Secretary of AMIT Women

Shoshannah Rick Chmn. Israel Executive Dr. Ami Ze'evi Director General Mrs. Norma Holzer National President

**AMIT Women**

expresses deep sorrow at the passing of

**ELLA LEWIS**

Honorary President and life-long devoted member of AMIT Women

She will be deeply mourned and sadly missed.

Shoshannah Rick Chmn. Israel Executive Dr. Ami Ze'evi Director General Mrs. Norma Holzer National President

**ISRAEL LANDS ADMINISTRATION**

The Staff of the Israel Lands Administration share the grief of their colleague

**Jerry Newman,**

on the death of his mother

**THELMA NEWMAN**

and offer condolences to the family.







# Angolan rebels, gov't sign peace treaty

TOM COHEN  
LUSAKA, Zambia

REPEATING a ritual that has twice failed to end their 19-year civil war, Angola's government and rightist rebels yesterday signed a peace accord hailed as a symbol of new cooperation and reconciliation in southern Africa.

But the treaty forged in a year of painstaking talks mediated by the United Nations lacked the signatures of the two main leaders - President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and rebel chief Jonas Savimbi. All involved agreed the hardest part would be halting fighting that continued even on the day the pact was signed.

A formal cease-fire was to take effect in two days.

Savimbi failed to attend yesterday's ceremony, blaming government bombing of the bush airport he intended to fly from. He designated the secretary general of his National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) as his proxy, prompting dos Santos to have foreign minister Venancio de Moura represent the government.

In a crowded, stifling conference center in the Zambian capital, where the peace talks had taken place, the two sides signed the



General Eugenio Ngolo Manuvakola of UNITA (left) and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos embrace after the signing of the Angola peace agreement yesterday, as Angolan Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura looks on. (AP)

Lusaka Protocol with UN special representative Alioune Blondin Beye, and pledged themselves to peace.

"All Angolans should forget the suffering of the Angolan conflict and face the future with solidarity and trust," said the UNITA official, who goes by the nom de guerre Gen. Eugenio Manuvakola.

He then embraced both de Moura and dos Santos as African leaders and other onlookers stood and cheered.

"Peace for Angola means peace for all of us in the African sub-region and the continent as a whole," Zambian President Frederick Chiluba said.

Twice before, in 1989 and 1991, dos Santos and Savimbi shook hands at elaborate ceremonies after signing treaties intended to halt one of Africa's bloodiest and cruellest wars.

Fighting resumed both times. Angolans remained skeptical yesterday that the latest agreement would succeed.

In Luanda, a small column of cars honked horns along the beach-lined island in the capital's bay. People cheered and some packed into a church for a celebratory service. But the scenes were subdued compared to 1991 festivities.

# Bosnian PM claims Serbs launching more ground attacks, urges air strikes

SARAJEVO (AP) - Bosnia's prime minister accused Serbs of launching new armored attacks yesterday toward the Bihac "safe area" in northwestern Bosnia and appealed for NATO airstrikes.

Sources in the Bosnian capital Sarajevo, and in Zagreb, Croatia, the site of UN headquarters, said all peacekeepers in Bosnia went on "red alert," the highest state of military readiness, as of yesterday afternoon.

That was a likely indication commanders were anticipating some sort of military action.

Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic's claim came after two raids by warplanes flying from nearby Serb-held Croatia, and decisions by the UN Security Council and NATO to broaden the North Atlantic alliance's ability to launch airstrikes against the Serbs.

"It is critical around Bihac right now, and we're waiting for the response of the UN and NATO immediately," said Silajdzic after a meeting with US Ambassador Victor Jackovich.

Silajdzic said Serb forces with tanks had entered several villages around Bihac, "practically killing

everything and everybody, leveling the houses."

"The concrete action would be to take out those tanks... with serious airstrikes," Silajdzic said.

There was no immediate UN confirmation of that attack, and it was not clear whether Silajdzic was talking about attacks within the UN-designated "safe area" of Bihac, which is confined to the town and its immediate environs.

But a UN official in Zagreb reported heavy fighting to the north of Bihac in Velika Kladusa, outside the "safe area." There, surrounding government forces are trying to fight off an attack by renegade Moslems backed by Croatian Serbs.

The official, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said the renegades loyal to warlord Fikret Abdic appeared to have the upper hand.

UN commanders in Bosnia have long-standing authority to ask NATO for airstrikes to protect safe areas. The latest action by the Security Council and NATO would allow NATO to go after Serbs in Croatia for attacking Bosnia.

## Key dates in the Angolan Civil War

1962 - Fighting erupts in the Portuguese colony as three anti-colonial guerrilla movements launch attacks for independence.

1974 - Military coup in Portugal paves the way for independence in Angola and Mozambique a year later.

1975 - Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) seizes power at independence, prompting warfare with the rival National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

1975-1988 - The Angolan power struggle grows into a proxy battle between Cold War superpowers. Cuba donates some 50,000 soldiers and the former Soviet Union pours in billions of dollars to support the then-Marxist MPLA government, while South African

troops and US guns and money back UNITA. 350,000 Angolans die in the fighting.

1988 - Cuba and South Africa negotiate their mutual withdrawal from Angolan conflict, but fighting continues between MPLA and UNITA forces.

May 1991 - UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi and Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos sign peace treaty calling for general amnesty of combatants, a unified Angolan military and democratic elections.

September 1992 - Angolan elections. UNITA loses parliamentary majority and Savimbi trails dos Santos in presidential vote. Dos Santos narrowly misses outright victory and second round scheduled for November.

October 1992 - Savimbi rejects election result and fighting erupts amid mutual accusations of military buildup.

November 1993 - UN peace talks begin in Lusaka, Zambia. Fighting continues.

October 17, 1994 - UN special representative to Angola Alioune Blondin Beye announces agreement on a 10-point peace plan.

October 31, 1994 - Officials of government and UNITA initial the peace agreement.

November 15, 1994 - Both sides declare a truce intended to set up formal signing of the peace pact, but fighting continues.

November 20, 1994 - Dos Santos and Savimbi delegate aides to sign the peace accord in Lusaka.

## Scientists create new element for periodic table

NEW YORK - Don't blink, or you've missed it.

Scientists seeking clues to how the world was made announced Friday they had banged atoms of lead and nickel together just hard enough to create a single new atom - called Element 110 - that survived less than a thousandth of a second.

The finding was announced Friday by a team of international scientists in Darmstadt, Germany, who had worked 10 years to create the new element, which is the heaviest ever seen.

The discovery, which has never been detected in nature, is not of any immediate practical value, but the team leader, Peter Armbruster, said the issue is more fundamental: "It concerns how the world was made."

The only guaranteed result will be to soon make physics journals and textbooks a little heavier. Eventually, experiments aimed at assessing 110's chemical properties may be done, although that will be difficult because of its brief lifetime.

According to nuclear chemist Richard Hahn, at the Brookhaven National Laboratory in New York, "They used nickel and lead because lead is a very stable element, and nickel is a very stable element. If you take their atomic numbers and add them, you get 110."

Physicist Glenn Seaborg, at the University of California, Berkeley, said the new element, 110, "falls into the periodic table under platinum, so it will be eka-platinum."

Seaborg himself is embroiled in a controversy over naming such elements. A team of which he was a member found Element 106 in 1974 and decided to name it Seaborgium, in his honor. But the international committee in charge of names, "to our amazement, changed the rules. They decided retroactively, it couldn't be named after a living person."

Seaborg said naming Element 106 "is still under discussion."

Newsday

## Clinton's exploits on sax now a bootleg CD, but it's no chart-topper yet

WASHINGTON (AP) - Live from Prague, it's "The Pres Blows," an unauthorized recording of President Clinton playing the saxophone that has drawn an unfavorable review from at least one critic.

Clinton's jam session at a Prague club in January has ended up on a compact disc being distributed by Stash, a mail-order jazz recording company in New York. "I have heard that it's great music," White House spokeswoman Ginny Terzano said, perhaps dutifully.

Czech President Vaclav Havel gave Clinton a new saxophone when the two slipped out to the club, and the US president led a local sextet in renditions of "Summertime" and "My Funny Valentine."

They didn't know the performance was being taped, Terzano said. Czech radio began playing it and a copy ended up with Stash.

"The [New York] Daily News gave it a harsh review," Stash owner Bernard Brightman said. "They said it was sure to go platinum."

Popular records that sell 500,000 copies are said to "go gold" in the United States while those that sell one million "go platinum."

"The first song is kind of rough, because he was using a new saxophone, but the second song he plays respectfully," Brightman added.

"The Pres Blows" is "basically a bootleg version," Terzano said. But she said White House lawyers did not seem inclined to try to stop distribution of the 18-minute CD, which sells for \$15.

Clinton picked up a saxophone several times during his European trip, following up his Prague session with another go at the same pair of tunes at Russian President Boris Yeltsin's dacha.

## More than 1 million winners in Britain's revived lottery

LONDON (AP) - Britain's first lottery since 1826 attracted nearly 25 million people and piled up a £5.9 million (\$9.32 million) jackpot to be shared among seven winning tickets, organizers said yesterday.

Eager gamblers lined up to buy tickets until the final minutes before the Saturday night draw for the new National Lottery, which is to benefit charities, arts and sports. The organizer, Camelot Group PLC, estimated that nearly 25 million people had played by the time sales stopped at 7:30.

The six winning numbers, announced on BBC television 30 minutes later, attracted an estimated audience of 21.7 million viewers in this land of 55 million people.

No details on individual winners was available by yesterday afternoon.

Camelot said 1,152,611 money-winning tickets were purchased, with a total payout of £22,004,123 (\$34,766,514), the vast majority of those tickets paid £10 (\$15.80) for correctly picking three of six numbers available from 1 to 49.



### ISRAEL LANDS ADMINISTRATION

#### ISRAEL LANDS ADMINISTRATION Tel Aviv Region

**Lease offered on Plot 1-Gimmel, Block 7101, for the construction of offices building, with below-ground floors for shops and services, and commercial floors, Rehov Ha'arba'a, Southern section of the Kirya, Tel Aviv - Invitation to Tender 276/94/Tav Alef**

Bids are invited from those interested in signing 3 year development agreements, after which those concerned will sign a 49 year lease with an option to extend for another 49 years, for land, the details of which are given below:

Plot	Block	Part of Parcel	Approx. Area, sq.m.	Minimum Price NIS †	Development Costs, NIS ‡	Deposit NIS
1-Gimmel	7101	1	3192	39,545,674	3,638,359	4,000,000

† Not including VAT.

The land use rights provided under this tender are in accordance with Urban Building Plans 2270 and 2271 - Alef, and are summarized in the following table:

Unit	Planned Area sq.m.	Area in Plan Unit (sq.m.)	Assigned Floor Areas (sq.m.)	Assigned Basement Areas

Area No./sq.m.	Offices	Commercial	Residential	Parking, Services, Technical Stores
	Main	Service	Main	Service

Plot	Block	Part of Parcel	Approx. Area, sq.m.	No. of Units	Deposit NIS			
1	8939.2	3192.2	9333	3000	667	550	See Para. 12.4 of 1st plan	15,000

The addenda listed in the table of contents of the tender booklet form an integral part of the tender documents.

**Special Conditions**

- The Administration will carry out, or will appoint another body to carry out all the development work in the Plan area, up to the boundary of the plot.
- The Administration will ensure that work on the corresponding public areas, covered in the plan, will go forward, keeping pace with the work covered by this tender, as detailed in Para. 18.3 of the Plan. In matters involving planning, development, and execution, the project administration will represent the Israel Lands Administration.
- Bids should be for the land only, not including development. The development costs noted in above will be paid separately by the successful bidder, to the Israel Lands Administration. These costs will be paid with increments, corresponding to the fact that the costs are linked to the index of consumer prices, published on October 15, 1994 (September 1994 index).
- The successful bidder carry out the development work within the plot boundaries, including putting in the infrastructure - roads, drainage, ventilation, lighting, electricity, telephone and communications networks, etc., and this applies whether the said services will be for tenants on the plot, or for tenants of another plot, or for the benefit of the project as a whole - this being apart from the work which the law requires the municipality to carry out.
- The municipality is carrying out the development work outside the plan area, so that transport and other services outside the plan area can be linked to those inside.
- The successful bidder will pay Tel Aviv Municipality one third of the fees that may be charged according to the law. The development fees in question are: fees collected as a "land" component, and those collected as a "built area" component, for roads, sewerage, laying of water mains and channelling, and any other development levy chargeable by law. The calculation of development fees will be made, without taking account of any payments that may have been made by any party in respect of this land, and will be charged as if no development work had ever been carried out in the plan area.
- The successful bidder will pay one third of the estimated development costs as an advance, before a development agreement between him and the Administration is signed - as required by Para. 13 of the tender terms. The balance of the amount will be paid by the successful bidder, on the basis of a detailed calculation of the development fees, corresponding to the plans submitted by him, when applying for a building license, and this will be a precondition for his receiving a building license for the plot.

The Israel Lands Administration reserves the right to accept any bid, or to reject all bids, including the highest.

The tender booklet will be available from November 24, 1994, on submission of a receipt from the Post Office Bank for NIS200 (cash only, including VAT), for a payment into Israel Lands Administration account 0-24180-0, per booklet. The booklets will be available at the Israel Lands Administration, Tel Aviv Region, 116 Derech Petah Tikva (Beit Kalka), Tel Aviv, ☎ 03-5638111, during regular working hours.

A bank check or guarantee for the deposit amount indicated in the above table is to be attached to the bid.

Last date for submitting bids: January 4, 1995 (12 noon). A bid not found in the tenders box when it is opened, whatever the reason, cannot be considered.

#### ISRAEL LANDS ADMINISTRATION Tel Aviv Region

**Lease offered on 6 plots, Nos. 601 - 606, for the construction of 4 housing units on each plot (total of 24 housing units) in Rehov Nehemia, Ramat Hasharon - Invitation to Tender 281/94/Tav Alef**

Bids are invited from those interested in signing 2 year development agreements, after which those concerned will sign a 49 year lease with an option to extend for another 49 years, for land, the details of which are given below:

Urban Building Plan	Block	Part of Parcel	Plot	Approx. Area, sq.m.	No. of Units	Deposit NIS
Resh Shin/ Bet Mem/1	6550	192	601	1,139	4	120,000
Resh Shin/ Bet Mem/1	6550	192	602	1,107	4	120,000
Resh Shin/ Bet Mem/1	6550	192	603	1,000	4	120,000
Resh Shin/ Bet Mem/1	6550	192	604	999	4	120,000
Resh Shin/ Bet Mem/1	6550	192	605	994	4	120,000
Resh Shin/ Bet Mem/1	6550	192	606	950	4	120,000

The land use rights provided under this tender are as follows:

- Four, low housing units may be built on each plot. The building will have an outline plan in the form of a hat, and be of two floors. Buildings will be semi-detached. No structures may be built on the roof.
- The maximum construction area of each unit is 130 sq.m., the maximum ground floor area being 30%. Each housing unit may have a basement, within the outline of the ground floor. A service area of 45 sq.m. may be built for each unit, above ground level.
- The successful bidder will be required to build all four housing units at the same time, including a shelter to high standards. (The area of the shelter is not included in the building percentages).
- Bids should be for the land only. The development costs will be paid by the successful bidder directly to the local authority, in the form of levies and fees, in accordance with the local bye-laws.
- Bids may be submitted for one or more plots.

The Israel Lands Administration reserves the right to accept any bid, or to reject all bids, including the highest.

NOTE: The attention of bidders is drawn to the fact that bids will not be accepted from a trustee on behalf of a third party, unless they are in line with the Para. 5 of the conditions given in the tender.

All bids will be final and not subject to conditions. The validity of a bid may not be made subject to the bidder's winning or not winning the tender for any other plot, and no order of preference for the tenders for the different plots will be considered.

The tender booklet will be available from November 25, 1994, on submission of a receipt from the Post Office Bank for NIS100 (cash only, including VAT), for a payment into Israel Lands Administration account 0-24180-0, per booklet. The booklets will be available at the Israel Lands Administration, Tel Aviv Region, 116 Derech Petah Tikva (Beit Kalka), Tel Aviv, ☎ 03-5638111, during regular working hours.

A bank check or guarantee for the deposit amount indicated in the above table is to be attached to the bid.

Last date for submitting bids: January 4, 1995 (12 noon). A bid not found in the tenders box when it is opened, whatever the reason, cannot be considered.

#### ISRAEL LANDS ADM. Northern Region

**Build Your House Program - Poriya - Neve Oved Council REGIONAL COUNCIL**

Thirty plots for the construction of 30 single-family housing units are offered under the above scheme.

Three of the plots are intended for the disabled, who do not own a plot, and who have not been allocated a plot anywhere in Israel. The following criteria apply: Ex-IDF disabled persons with 50% permanent disability, this disability being attested by documentation, with validity of one year, issued by the Rehabilitation Branch of the Min. of Defense; a disabled person who was not disabled during service in the IDF, and who is 75% permanently disabled in the lower limbs; this disability must be attested by currently valid documentation, issued by the National Insurance Institute or the Min. of Health.

First priority in the draw will be given to IDF disabled, with 100% or more disability. In general, first priority in choice of plot will be given to the disabled.

Registration will be at the offices of the Administration, Northern Region, Government Compound, Upper Nazareth, Tel. 06-558211, Sunday, Monday, Wednesday and Thursday, 8:00 a.m.-1:30 p.m.

Registration will open at 9 a.m. on November 27, and close at 12 noon on December 22, 1994.

When registering, you must deposit a bank check for NIS1,000, made out to the Israel Lands Administration, which will be regarded as an advance on the cost of development. Registration and the detailed explanatory sheet (which may be obtained from November 27 at the above address) are free.

#### ISRAEL LANDS ADM. SHIKUM U'PITUAH LEYISRAEL Northern Region

**SHLOMI LOCAL COUNCIL**

**Build Your House Program - Shomri - Shlomi - (11 housing units)**

Plots for the construction of nine single-family houses, and two semi-detached houses are offered under the above scheme.

One plot is intended for the disabled, who do not own a plot, and who have not been allocated a plot anywhere in Israel. The following criteria apply: Ex-IDF disabled persons with 50% permanent disability, this disability being attested by documentation, with validity of one year, issued by the Rehabilitation Branch of the Min. of Defense; a disabled person who was not disabled during service in the IDF, and who is 75% permanently disabled in the lower limbs; this disability must be attested by currently valid documentation, issued by the National Insurance Institute or the Min. of Health.

First priority in the draw will be given to IDF disabled, with 100% or more disability. In general, first priority in choice of plot will be given to the disabled.

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# Preljocaj: Zen and the art of choreography

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

ANGELIN Preljocaj has an idea for combining choreography with CNN.

"So many people speak all day long about politics, etc., and finally the word has no sense," says the 37-year-old choreographer in a telephone interview from his Paris home.

"It is very emotional for me to see dancers do things without words. Maybe one day I'll do a dance with CNN news projected on the back of the stage and the dancers doing very simple things stage front. I like this contrast between the world of the words and the world of the movement."

Preljocaj's *Noces* is an established part of the Batsheva Dance Company's repertoire.

Later this week, its junior counterpart, the Batsheva Ensemble, will perform one of Preljocaj's earliest works, *Larmes Blanches* ("White Tears"), as part of a special tribute to the choreographer.

"It's one of my first works, and I think it is for me a very important piece, like my reflection on the mathematical structure of dance. This piece is the beginning of my reflection about how the emotion can come from the structure and not directly from the movement, how the emotion is an accumulation of movement and structure which comes not directly from the body, but from the ensemble."

Beauty, he adds, does not come from individual movements.

"It's like music. Music is not about individual notes but about the relations between notes. Dance is exactly the same. The beauty is the relation between all these movements, constructing something new."

He continues the musical analogy with Bach: "I think he did very mathematic and nonemotional things. It becomes very emotional

because there is something very quiet, Zen-like, about the music of Bach. I feel my dances are like that."

Although trained in classical ballet, Preljocaj quickly moved to modern dance, where he feels most at home.

"The only space to create new things is modern dance. In fact, there are some people who can create new works from the classical language, but I can't. [William] Forsythe did it very well, creating a new concept with old movement. I need everything to be new."

Preljocaj devotes most of his time to creating new works, particularly for his company, which he founded 10 years ago and which tours worldwide. He spends less time on the dance floor.

"I used to dance with them, but I stopped because it's not my place any longer. If I dance, I take the place of one of my dancers, which is not fair."

PRELJOCAJ has always been interested in dance, although his family is far from artistically inclined. He was born to Albanian parents, and his mother was pregnant with him when she fled to France.

His parents never really got accustomed to his artistic inclination.

"They were very shocked by my choice, but now I think they are very proud. They don't speak a lot, but I can see that they are proud of what I'm doing."

The choreographer says he has always felt like a stranger wherever he is.

"My culture is French, but my ethnicity is Albanian. My instinct is Albanian, but my mind and intellect is French and even in my work it goes together. Maybe that's why I feel a stranger in



"Noces," from 1992, is part of the Batsheva Company's regular repertoire. (GADI DAGON)

France, and when I leave France I'm a stranger as well."

Preljocaj is a great believer in dance as dance, not disguised as dance theater or movement theater. "I have tremendous confidence in dance," he says.

"I can work with a text, it can be

like music, something out of the dance, but the dancers do not have to speak. Dancers are like angels who lost their voice."

On Friday (10 p.m.) at the Suzanne Dellal Center in Tel Aviv, the Batsheva Dance Company and Ensemble host a special home-

age in honor of Preljocaj, which he will attend. It will feature a documentary film on his work, a dance film directed by the choreographer, a meeting with Preljocaj and a live performance by the Batsheva Ensemble of Preljocaj's *Larmes Blanches*.

## A magical mystery klezmer tour

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

SQUINT hard enough at klezmer king Giora Feidman on stage and his clarinet may turn into a torch.

At least that's the way the master of Jewish soul music looks at his instrument. His clarinet, Feidman says, is part and parcel of the central theme of his artistry — or *lagoyim*, a light unto the nations.

It is his adherence to this philosophy that drives Feidman, 58, to tour the world, performing Jewish music for mainly non-Jewish audiences.

"We must say it every day, it's a responsibility to be a Jew," said Feidman last week in a telephone interview from Belgium, where he was touring.

Feidman will return home for three performances with the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra next week.

He will soon join the renowned Kronos Quartet on a worldwide tour, performing Argentine composer Osvaldo Golijov's clarinet quintet *Seven Prayers of Isaac the Blind*, which was commissioned for him by the Schleswig-Holstein Festival in Germany. Feidman premiered it there last summer with the Cleveland Quartet.

"It was a big success, an incredible piece," Feidman says. "It is a klezmer and classical work put together without changing either style."

He applies a bit of mystical logic to the very term klezmer.

"Klezmer is actually two Hebrew words, *kli zemer* (vessel of song). *Kli* is also the acronym of 'Cohen, Levi, Israel.' It is all the people of Israel. And *zemer*, if you change the order of the letters, becomes *remez* (hint) or *zerem* (flow). It's just the hint of the flow of energy that exists in the creation."

He also explains that the *nigun* is not really a melody.

"We have one Torah, one shofar, one flag, and the expression of all that is the *nigun*, any *nigun*. It's not a song, it's an energy which results from an interpretation of the faith."

Feidman transmits the energy, the *nigun*, to people all over the world. "The same *nigun* and ener-

gy I share in Israel I also share in Bangkok and in Rio, where my audience is mostly non-Jewish."

FEIDMAN, a fourth-generation klezmer musician, came to this country from his native Argentina to join the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra. For 18 years he was a member of the IPO, until his solo career left him no time for the orchestral job.

Since then, he has never been invited to play as soloist with the IPO, and he is bitter about it.

He has other criticism against the IPO as well. "It's the best orchestra in Israel and one of the greatest in the world, but they must understand that they are not an orchestra just for the people of Israel, but rather for the Jews all over the world.... Here, the cultural institutions are not interested in Jewish music."

Although he tried to be involved on various occasions in creating an official framework for Jewish music in this country, he always failed. Feidman wanted to be involved with the klezmer festival in Safed, but said he did not see eye to eye with the organizers and promoters.

Then he had an idea to create a chamber orchestra of new immigrants to play Jewish music, but it didn't work either.

"This music is already available here. It's our music. The potential here is enormous, but something is not working here."

In his concerts with the JSO, Feidman will perform some of his musical calling cards, including Andre Hajdu's *Truati Melech* (King's Fanfare), his own adaptation of Bloch's *Schelomo*, originally written for cello and orchestra, new klezmer pieces written by his wife Ora Bat-Chaim, some popular klezmer tunes and the music from the film *Schindler's List*, which he also recorded.

The orchestra will be conducted by Lukas Foss. Concerts are scheduled for November 28 at the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv; November 29 at the Henry Crown Symphony Hall in Jerusalem, and November 30 at the Haifa Auditorium.

## Have viola, will travel

HELEN KAYE

JUST ask her, and she'll tell you she's played with the Boston Symphony, the Tokyo Philharmonic and Holland's Concertgebouw orchestras, but "if an Israeli orchestra had offered me five agorot, I'd have come," says Israeli violinist Rivka Golani.

The Haifa Symphony Orchestra (HSO) has asked, and the world-renowned violinist is here to play a Paganini sonata and the world premiere of Oded Zehavi's viola concerto with the ensemble.

The concerts, conducted by HSO music director Stanley Sperber, are tonight, Wednesday and Thursday at the Haifa Auditorium.

Last time she performed here was for the world premiere of Yehudi Menuhin's viola concerto with the Israel Symphony Orchestra. That was in 1989, and she's plain mad about it.

"The truth is," she says, "that [local] orchestras invite few guest violinists because the viola isn't considered enough of a draw for audiences. The one time I played with the Israel Philharmonic was when I replaced Dan Ben-Yamini as principal because he was abroad, and that was in the '70s, when I was still studying for my master's."

"In fact, the last time I was here, one of our best-known composers, and I don't want to say who, asked me why I needed to play here when I play all over the world. What a question. I'm part of this culture. My roots are here."

She speaks quietly, but with intensity. She relaxes in a hotel lobby by armchair, but her hands are restless.

"She never takes a holiday," says her 18-year-old son Michael, "except for the time we went with Dad to his place in Mexico."

Dad is Michael's stepfather, author Jeremy Fox, and Golani's fourth husband. The family lives in Toronto, and when she's not touring or conducting master classes, Golani teaches viola at Toronto University. She's a paint-

er, too, with several exhibitions to her credit.

Golani was born 48 years ago in Tel Aviv and grew up in Ramat Gan, where her parents still live. She studied music and the viola at the Tel Aviv Rubin Academy. She started violin at age seven but switched to the viola in her last year at Rubin "because its voice is deeper, richer, rounder, and I wanted the challenge because it's harder to play."

"People think that it's suitable only for heavy or melancholy music, but I refused to see it that way. The viola's sound is most like the human voice, and like the voice, it has many moods."

THAT PERCEPTION of the viola has spilled over into its available repertoire. Golani says, but things have changed since her first professional concert with the Jerusalem Symphony in the late '60s.

She has mined the renaissance and the baroque, adapted works for cello and violin and unearthed previously unperformed viola works, like those by early 20th-century British composers Arnold Bax and Edmund Rubbra, which she recently recorded with the London Royal Philharmonic.

She says 180 composers have written pieces for her, from concerti to a saucy piece by a Canadian rock musician. She can't recall his name, but says "it was a wonderful piece. The audience loved it, and we had every kind of people there from black tie to nose rings."

Rock was composer Zehavi's analogy for Golani's stage presence "and sense of where the music needs to be dramatic. She's an excellent musician with a rare sense of phrasing. [HSO general manager Benami] Eynav commissioned the concerto in memory of his parents, but I wrote it with Rivka in mind."

"Today's composers are really in search of this kind of performance. Enough of the little, cute ones. We need someone who can really



Golani's creativity is not limited to music: last year her paintings showed in London.

sink their teeth into a piece, and she can."

Golani's first bite is "technique. I learn the work technically and then I fill in the spaces. It's like making a house into a home. You can do nothing until the building stands."

Whether I work with new or existing repertoire, whatever I'm performing is a masterpiece for me. It has to be and I have to make myself part of it, otherwise how will an audience be able to love it too?"

Her career developed gradually, "which is good. I was never one of those who knew at five what I wanted to do. I've done lots of things. Everybody thought I'd go into mathematics, but I chose music because math is always there. Art has always been my solace, but recently it's become much more central in my life."

Last year, she and Israeli painter Israel Zohar exhibited 24 of their joint paintings at a major London gallery. But 20 of them were stolen, including a huge canvas that is the backdrop for Franz Humel's viola concerto, premiered by Golani in 1992.

"Music and painting complement and indirectly influence each other, and the funny thing is that I've received the same reviews for my paintings as I have for my music."

## Rishon Lezion emerges from the pit

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

AFTER a month in the pit, the Israel Symphony Orchestra Rishon Lezion (RSO) will take center stage on Thursday.

So far this season, the RSO has performed at the gala opening of the Tel Aviv Performing Arts Center (TAPAC) and for the New Israeli Opera productions of *Boris Godunov* and *Faust*. The RSO is now beginning its own concert season.

The opening concert (Thursday and Saturday at 8:30 p.m.) features the Mozart Requiem. It will be sung by tenor Mark Tucker, baritone Michael George, soprano Shirley Hecht and mezzo-soprano Edna Prochuk. The choir comes from Bochum, Germany.

The RSO's Noam Sheriff will also lead the orchestra in Mendelssohn's fifth ("Reformation") symphony and in a new composition by local composer Ben-Zion Orgad, *Toccata in a Galilean Mood*.

The RSO was originally going to perform Orgad's *Vigil in Jerusalem*, which the orchestra played on its recent tour of the Schleswig-Holstein Festival in Germany. But Orgad had second thoughts and offered Sheriff an opus written especially for the RSO.

"Usually when I'm writing any piece, I hear it performed in my mind by specific musicians," says Orgad, 68.

"When I started composing this piece I had no particular performers in mind, but when I traveled with them to the festival in Germany and was with them for quite a time, I found myself thinking about Noam and the specific musicians."

The program booklet contains the composer's very poetic description of the work.

"I was not able to write the general biographical type of explanation about my work, so I decided instead to tell the story behind the composition."

The concert will be a test of how well TAPAC functions as a concert hall. Orgad has not been in the hall yet, but he says that "from what I hear, I am rather apprehensive."

## Maggie's life: Barrenness not baroness

LADYBIRD, LADYBIRD

FILM REVIEW

ADINA HOFFMAN

Directed by Ken Loach. Screenplay by Rona Munro. Hebrew title: *Ladybird*. *Ladybird*, 102 minutes. English dialogue. Hebrew subtitles. Not recommended for children.

Maggie ..... Crissy Rock  
Jorge ..... Vladimir Vega

The harsh working-class world of English director Ken Loach's *Ladybird*, *Ladybird* is so real it's surreal. Based on a true story and a nursery rhyme ("Ladybird, ladybird, fly away home / your house is on fire / your children are gone"), Loach's film depicts with documentary clarity several lost lives and the inferno that can be the modern welfare state.

Played with astounding vitality and anger by Crissy Rock, Maggie is a blonde Liverpudlian whose round, beaming face and healthy laugh disguise intense despair. When we first see her, she's singing her heart out at a Karaoke bar like any old party girl. Jorge (Vladimir Vega), a Paraguayan refugee with a sad El Greco face and soft-spoken manner, hears her and offers to buy her a drink.

Maggie's unbelievably awful life

story comes pouring out as she sips, and it continues to flow when she goes home with Jorge, who plies her with coffee and cake and more affection in a few hours than it seems anyone has ever offered her.

Sexually abused when she was young, Maggie watched her father strike her mother repeatedly. As an adult, she gave birth to four children, all by different men. The men invariably beat her, and she fled. One night, she locked the children in their room at the shelter where they were staying. She wanted, she said, to protect them from intruders.

After Maggie went out for the evening, a fire swept through the room, seriously injuring the children. Social workers intervened, charged the distraught mother with negligence, and took her children away. All four were placed in foster care, and access was denied to Maggie.

Jorge is drawn to Maggie and to her grief, and he wants to help the only way he knows how — by giving

her love of a sort she's never had and can barely handle. In chilly detail, the film traces this new relationship: their attempts to start a new family, the further absurdist interventions of the welfare authorities, and perhaps most painfully, the torture they inflict on each other. Not surprisingly, Maggie the perennial victim is the one who usually delivers the harshest blows.

As he demonstrated in *Raining Stones*, a modern Christian allegory set in and around a decrepit Manchester housing project, Loach's cinematic approach is about as flashy as a cinder-block cell. In that earlier film, though, the director used the promise of religious redemption to cushion the hard knocks his characters suffered.

Maggie and Jorge have no such doctrinal refuge and their story is much more jarring for this lack. The Sisyphus tragedy of their lives unfolds in unadorned terms: brutal flashbacks of beatings and burns are the only notable stylistic exception to their otherwise straight-ahead toil.

Of course, this raw technique also constitutes a style — albeit a frugal, resolutely grim one that

works to underscore the director's deep suspicion of formal artistry as much as it does to reveal the hopelessness of the dramatic situation. Loach takes care to lay bare his naturalistic methods, which include improvised dialogue and an immobile camera. If Ralph Nader made movies, they might look like this one.

But at least Loach has stopped sermonizing in the blatant way that he did in *Raining Stones*. There are no angels here. He has even relaxed enough to let in a bit of caustic humor, as when Jorge convinces Maggie to try a new tack with the welfare people.

Instead of yelling profanities and slamming doors, for once she strains to cheerfully offer up a plastic plate of chocolate-covered biscuits, which are accepted by the bureaucrats with awkward poignancy. Of course, like all such "lighter" moments in *Ladybird*, *Ladybird*, Maggie's ersatz tea-party manners are, at a deep level, decidedly unfunny. The emotional price they exact from the complex heroine is astronomical.

And, for some truly unamusing humor, one need look no further than the main character's name. These days you don't make a film about battered British children, a house gone up in smoke, and a guilt-stricken mother named Maggie unless you mean to convey something specific by it.

## Sonny and Cher — the battle continues

IT was Sonny Bono's turn to zing Cher in their give-and-take over his election to Congress.

Last week, Cher said her former husband and singing partner should feel at home in the House because politicians are "one step below used-car salesmen."

On Thursday, a wisecracking Bono told *Tonight Show* host Jay Leno: "She's still in love with me. She'll drop it someday, but it's hard.... Cher, get over it."

AACI SENIOR CITIZENS AND THE JERUSALEM POST

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Arts and Entertainment Reporter, The Jerusalem Post

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## Money is not the answer

THERE seemed to be general agreement in yesterday's cabinet meeting about the root cause of Yasser Arafat's problems: lack of funds. Vast amounts were promised the future Palestinian Authority in the flush of last year's euphoria, but little has materialized. Neither the Arab governments nor the Western countries have delivered on their promises. To make matters worse, the Republican victory in the US casts doubt on the American commitment to grant the PLO \$500 million.

Nor are private investors any keener. The talk of turning Gaza into a Mediterranean Hongkong through vast private projects has subsided if not disappeared. Friday's bloody riots have made such investments even less likely, at least in the immediate future.

As a result, say the ministers, life in Gaza is more miserable and hopeless than ever. The standard of living is 25 percent lower than when Israel left in May. A full third of the working force is unemployed. Work in Israel - when lifting the closure makes it possible - is scarce. At best, only a few thousand cross the Erez checkpoint to the Green Line - nowhere near the 100,000 who used to find employment in Israel before the intifada.

Even local industries have trouble functioning for lack of steady supplies from Israel. Essential services, too, are not what they used to be. Although Israel is still paying many of the bills, nothing works steadily. Even the police have not received their salaries regularly, which seems to make a large number of policemen sympathetic to Hamas protesters. In sum, poverty and misery - now more widespread than ever - are creating bitterness, despair and violence.

The logical conclusion, according to the government, is to pour money - as much and as soon as possible - into Yasser Arafat's coffers. This is what Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, always ahead of the government's thinking, has been preaching for more than a year. He and his emissaries have been trying to drum up grants, loans and investments for the PA with zeal that fund-raisers for the United Jewish Appeal would envy. Rich American Jews, European conglomerates and Saudi business tycoons have all been approached with a plea to make the peace process work by aiding the Palestinian economy.

Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak has made similar pleas. A little less subtle than Peres, he has added a threat to his pitch. In an interview with the London Times (published on Friday, before the Gaza riots), he warned that unless the "contributing countries" delivered the \$2.2 billion they had promised the PA, Gaza would explode and become a base of regional instability. This, he said, would affect not only the Middle East but all of Europe. It is very easy to get to Europe from the Mideast, particularly since there are fundamentalist cells all over the continent, he warned.

Like Mubarak, Peres is urging foreign contributors to put their money where their mouth is. But while Mubarak has not offered Egyptian money to

save the Middle East and Europe, Peres would like to volunteer his own country's contribution. Yesterday he suggested that on top of what Israel is already paying to keep water and electricity running in the Strip, the government should find ways of giving more money to the Palestinians. Such generosity worries Finance Minister Avraham Shohat, who protested that the Treasury - struggling with the threat of rampant inflation, the demands of special interest groups and the price of vegetables - will not be able to carry the burden of supporting the PA.

If throwing money at the PA would indeed bring peace, if investment and government aid could stabilize and persuade Palestinians to coexist with Israel, Peres's effort would be more than justified. But there is no reason to believe that money would make much difference. If the US and Europe are reluctant to deliver on their promised contributions it is not only because Arafat refuses to establish norms of financial accountability in Gaza, but because they know that not all problems can be solved with money.

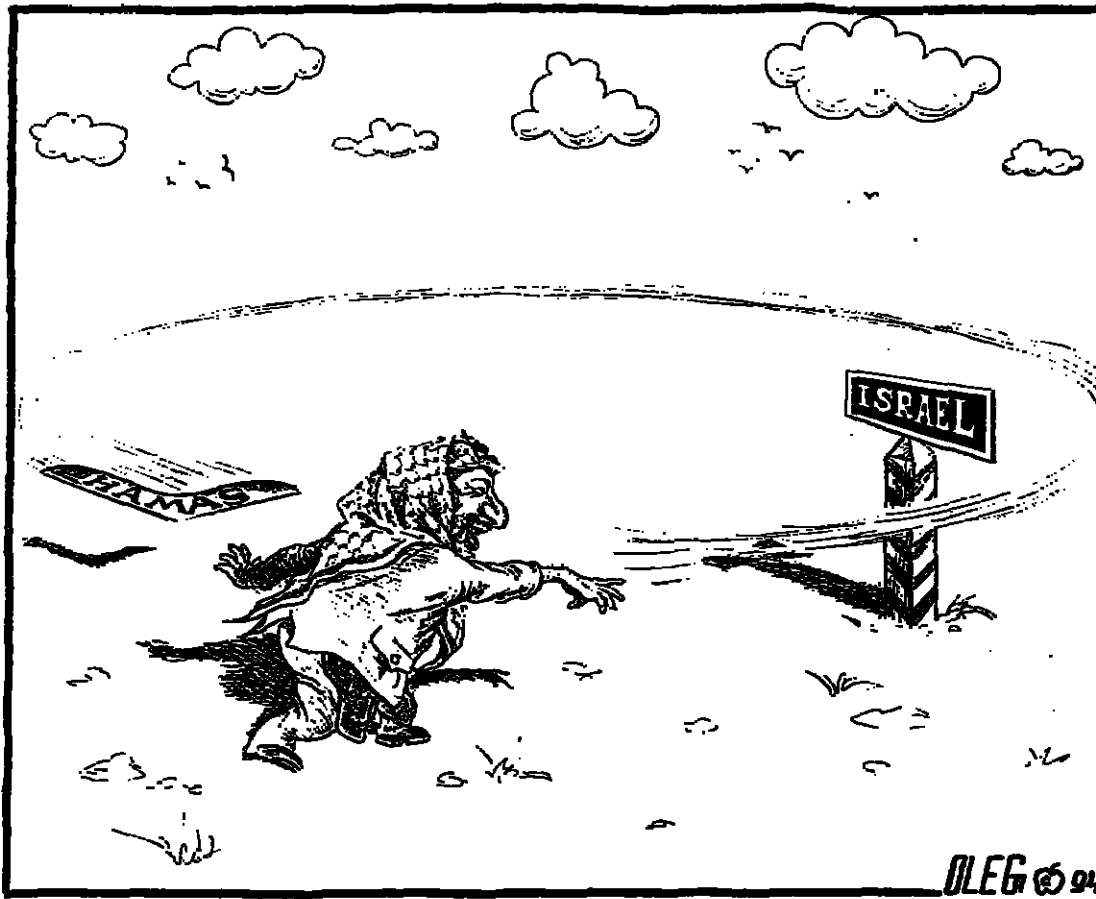
Americans are particularly aware of the limitations of financial aid in resolving social and political problems. Throwing staggering amounts of government and private funds at inner-city slums, the drug problem and affirmative action for minorities has done little to ameliorate intractable problems.

It is even less likely that the Arab-Israeli conflict can be reduced to materialist terms. The intolerance in the Arab world for Israel's existence does not stem from economic hardship. It is mostly religiously and nationally inspired.

That only poverty and ignorance can breed the kind of hatred which produces suicidal bombers is manifestly untrue. The most recent such suicide killer, who caused the death of three officers in Netzarim, was a well-educated member of an upper-middle-class family. In fact, most of the Hamas and Jihad leaders are intellectuals, professionals and teachers whose backgrounds are decidedly not disadvantaged.

Nor should conditions in Gaza be blamed for a phenomenon which plagues the Moslem world from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. To assume that Islamic militancy will disappear with the improvement of the Strip's standard of living is to grossly underestimate the power and seduction of religious fervor. If anything, a more buoyant economy may make the fanatics more dangerous.

That Peres believes in a financial solution is hardly surprising. For the past decade he has been driven by a vision of a Middle East Marshall Plan. He clearly believes that what worked for war-torn, devastated Europe after World War II can work for the war-torn Middle East. But the reason the Marshall Plan worked in Western Europe was that all the beneficiary countries were Western democracies. To expect such a plan to work in the religiously fanatic, hopelessly corrupt, ethnically riven, anti-democratic and anti-Western Middle East is to ignore the simple realities of life.



## Toward separation now

YOSEF GOELL

PRIME Minister Rabin opposes the removal of any settlements in the territories during the present stage of the interim agreement with the Palestinians.

He reiterated this stand despite the tragic burden in blood and the huge sums entailed in protecting isolated settlements and the roads leading to them.

The Netzarim roadblock, scene of the killing of Israeli soldiers, most recently over the weekend, has come to focus and exemplify the problem.

Rabin's stand also flies in the face of vehement demands that isolated settlements like Netzarim be dismantled now, advanced by Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, Meretz minister Yossi Sarid and other Labor and Meretz doves.

Rabin's opposition stems from a conviction that only an agreement by stages with the PLO is politically viable, and that any attempt to go for a full and final agreement in one fell swoop would doom the entire risky enterprise.

The premier's first argument against immediate withdrawal from any settlement is the need to honor the agreement hammered out at Oslo. In it, the PLO agreed that all settlements would remain in place during the first phase.

Secondly, Rabin wants to use the entire complement of 130 or so settlements in the territories as bargaining chips for concessions from the PLO in the second and final stages of negotiations.

In 1993, Rabin feared he couldn't muster a popular majority in Israel to support any agreement calling for immediate territorial concessions and the dismantling of settlements. His underlying hope was that a sharp drop in terror following the IDF's withdrawal from Gaza would persuade a majority of Israelis that

the even greater concessions demanded in the second and final phases were both desirable and safe.

A year ago, there was logic to these arguments. But in the light of the blood-filled reality of the last few months, it should be clear that they need reexamination.

THE KILLING of an IDF soldier at the Netzarim roadblock on Sat-

**A tradeoff between Jewish and Palestinian communities. Painful, but necessary**

unday - the second attack there in 10 days - should provide ample evidence of what defending the isolated settlements in Judea and Samaria will entail.

Following Friday's shoot-out between Hamas activists and the Palestinian Police, Yasser Arafat succumbed to pressure from Palestinian mediators and is striving for an alliance with Hamas, rather than fighting the organization head on. This again underscores the PLO leader's inability, or unwillingness, to fight terror.

And it means that seeking to apply a phased withdrawal to the West Bank would prove a mission impossible.

A partial withdrawal and regrouping of IDF forces would entail a tremendous and protracted mobilization of IDF reserves in order to ensure the safety of scores of isolated settlements and the

roads leading to them.

The budgetary burden, largely overlooked in the public debate, will loom ever larger, as a new US Congress proves reluctant to fund the full cost of an Israeli-Palestinian accommodation. And Israel's next elections are drawing near.

While postponing the incendiary issue of Jerusalem to the end of the process may still be valid, there seems no advantage in not coming to grips now with the thorny problem of separating the two intermeshed peoples in Judea and Samaria.

The best approach might be Israel offering to withdraw from a significant number of settlements at the end of the negotiations on the second stage. But such a painful and politically risky concession should be made only in exchange for matched Palestinian "withdrawal" from parts of the territories Israel will insist on retaining as part of any final agreement.

Why should the Palestinians agree to such a demand? Because Israel could dangle an additional offer: its open agreement to the establishment of a Palestinian state in the territories it would vacate at the end of the process.

Currently, most Israelis, including many who support the basic policy toward the Palestinians, oppose any unilateral withdrawal from settlements in the absence of a significant drop in terrorism. But they likely wouldn't go along with the stupendous increase in reserve duty and budgets required to protect all settlements and access roads.

The only way out of such an impasse lies in a painful tradeoff of Israeli and Palestinian communities. That seems the way to reduce further bloodshed to a minimum.

The writer comments on current affairs.

## Fresh air

ELYAKIM HAETZNI

OFFICIAL circles in this country reacted to the news of Jesse Helms's impending nomination as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee with some trepidation.

Not so a substantial part of the Israeli Jewish public. It welcomed the Republican victory.

The local media dwelt extensively on Helms's position, that what Syria really seeks isn't peace, but the Golan and American money, and that no further funds should be pumped into the Middle East "peace process."

For Israelis, this was a breath of fresh air from a no-longer-naïve America, a country which won't allow itself to be taken for a ride any more.

It is because of Israel's warm relationship with the US that many Israelis do not want to see American troops on the Golan.

Israel gained the world's respect in June 1967, when defense minis-

**Jesse Helms's position is that of an America no longer naïve**

ter Moshe Dayan made his famous statement that young Americans should not be asked to risk their lives for us.

And he was right. Any country which puts its security into another nation's hands, even a friendly nation's, is in a sorry state indeed.

Suppose American soldiers got hurt on the Golan? Our adversaries in the US would surely bring out the old, ugly argument that now the Jews aren't just taking their money, but their blood as well.

It bodes ill for the relationship between our peoples to invite such a reproach.

HERE'S ANOTHER probable scenario: Syria signs a treaty, but breaks it, the way it tore into pieces the Taif accord stipulating Syrian withdrawal from most of Lebanon.

Israel would call on the US to force Syria to abide by its commitments. And the US would find itself torn between its legal and moral commitment to us and its interests in the Arab world. Whatever choice it made would cause painful damage to Israel-US relations.

The "peace process" will swallow large amounts of American money.

Syria, pouring heroin into the American market, will not easily give up this kind of income without demanding a hefty American bribe in return. It will then go back to growing poppies in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

Syria will also demand monetary compensation for obliging Israel, for deigning to sign a treaty with the hated Zionist enemy. But the treaty, unlike the US's money, will soon turn out to have no substance.

Nor will Israel deliver the Golan for nothing. An American garrison would cost a great deal. More funds would need to go on sophisticated electronic gadgetry (which, like most artificial substitutes, would turn out to be unhealthy).

Furthermore, Syria will insist on receiving the Golan Judean. Particularly large sums will be needed to finance the dismantling of a town and dozens of villages.

We're talking about highly developed industries, thriving agriculture, a broad tourist infrastructure, and a winery of international renown. Compensation could run into the billions.

And to what end? The US (taking money from its own poor), will reap not thanks, but bitter Israeli resentment for having financed the destruction of the Golan.

Foreign Minister Peres is pressuring the US to donate hundreds of millions of dollars to the PLO.

Senator Helms might ask the CIA just how many billions of dollars Yasser Arafat holds in secret bank accounts and other investments worldwide.

He refuses to spend these funds on his people, while American, European and Japanese taxpayers are called upon to shoulder the burden. (Arafat doesn't even collect taxes from his own people in Gaza and Jericho.)

Day and night, our government works hard to burnish Arafat's image. In doing so, it is also polishing the image of someone who calls himself "the Father of Hitler."

Who is this "Abu-Hitler"? He heads Arafat's personal bodyguard, called Force 17. The name, this man has chosen - and been allowed - to adopt says more than anyone possibly could about the real intentions of our supposed peace partners.

The writer, a lawyer and former MK, is a resident of Kiryat Arba.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### THE KASTNER AFFAIR

Sir, - For three consecutive nights, Israel TV presented an in-depth documentary about the Kastner Affair. The screenwriter, actors, director, even the historians consulted, are all Israelis born after those events.

It appears that time and perspective are important elements in unraveling the truth. In an interview, the screenwriter admitted that he began his research with the presupposition that Rudolf Kastner, the Hungarian Zionist leader who engineered rescue negotiations with the Nazis, was indeed a collaborator. As his research progressed, he realized that Kastner had untiringly used any and all means at his disposal to save Jewish lives. His race was against time. Kastner's most urgent goal was to save as many Jews as he could.

In 1962, an American writer, Robert St. John, wrote a novel about Kastner entitled *The Man Who Played God*. Kastner had "played God" often imperfectly, and became vulnerable to public criticism. The tragedy is that he was less than omnipotent. As he was conducting negotiations with the Hungarian and Nazi authorities, 600,000 Jews from the Hungarian countryside were deported to Auschwitz.

The accusation that Kastner was a collaborator were unjust as well as groundless. His accusers believed that he had much more power than he actually had. He, too was a pawn, used by the Nazis to test various alternatives, now that their defeat was imminent.

The drama's main focus was clearly a scrutiny of the behavior and attitudes of the Zionist leadership and Israeli public during and after WWII. It portrayed the atmosphere and confusion of the period. Kastner was used as a scapegoat by all political and ideological entities. He was judged by those that didn't know, and were uninterested in knowing what it was like to be a Jew imprisoned in Nazi Europe. The high moral ground embraced by all sides isolated Kastner and, in effect, all survivors. Their survival was met with insensitivity and hostility. There was often an implied message that asked, "Why you?"

There also exists a strange double standard: for Gentiles such as Oskar Schindler or Raoul Wallenberg negotiated with the Nazis, including the payment of high ransoms for Jews, they are applauded and admired - as they should be. But when Rudolf Kastner, a Jew, did the very same actions and with the same intentions, he is suspect and ridiculed.

Survivors, shaken and painted by their treatment, did not speak up for Kastner. The same Hungarian Jewry never spoke up for other rescuers, even among the gentile community. Those active in the Wallenberg Committee were dismayed by the lack of involvement of the 30,000 Jews saved by him.

Many Holocaust researchers today are acutely aware that only "after 40 years wandering in the desert" are we allowed to examine and touch those horrible wounds.

I respect the statement that "only those who were there know what it was like." And no matter how many trips to Poland, no matter how many diaries we read, or documentaries we watch, we will never truly know. Yet, I do believe that this next generation listens to the survivors with a better-tuned ear than their contemporaries ever did. This eloquently executed docu-drama is one good example.

RACHEL R. WEIMAN,  
Lecturer, Holocaust Studies,  
Haifa University  
Haifa.

### ODIOUS

Sir, - The vitriolic pen of Elyakim Ha'etzi knows no bounds. In your issue of November 9, his letter, entitled "Peace not now," is particularly odious.

I will cite only one example. He writes, inter alia: "the only peace we can expect for trading our homeland." Ha'etzi knows very well that no one wants to "trade our homeland." This is going too far.

DAVID SEGAL  
Ramat Hasharon.

### WE DESERVE BETTER

Sir, - As a mother of a soldier, I want to thank your writers Uri Dan and Dennis Eisenberg for their article of October 27, "The suicide syndrome," defending the honor of the young men and women who serve in the army.

My son and his friends believe it was wrong for soldiers at Dabsha to run away rather than fight in Lebanon, but they can fully understand why it happened.

Why should they risk their lives in Lebanon (which they hate), especially when they read in the papers that they are going to leave anyway? How can you blame them for becoming demoralized when they know that they are going to leave the Golan and the territories, which most regard as part of Israel?

When soldiers are given orders not to resist when attacked, as in Gaza recently, how can they be criticized for being disillusioned and lacking motivation? The words in the Dan and Eisenberg article are so true. Our boys and girls are wonderful. They are being let down by the weak and defeatist leaders of the country we all love and cherish. Surely we deserve better.

ESHED VERED  
Herzliya.

### BBC'S "DOUBLESPEAK"

Sir, - Describing the terrorist takeover of a Tel Aviv hotel (many years ago) and the subsequent storming of it by Israeli troops to free the hostages, the BBC radio (November 5) uses double-speak: "...ended with loss of life on both sides." And so, the Palestinian murderer and the Israeli victim are placed conveniently on the same level.

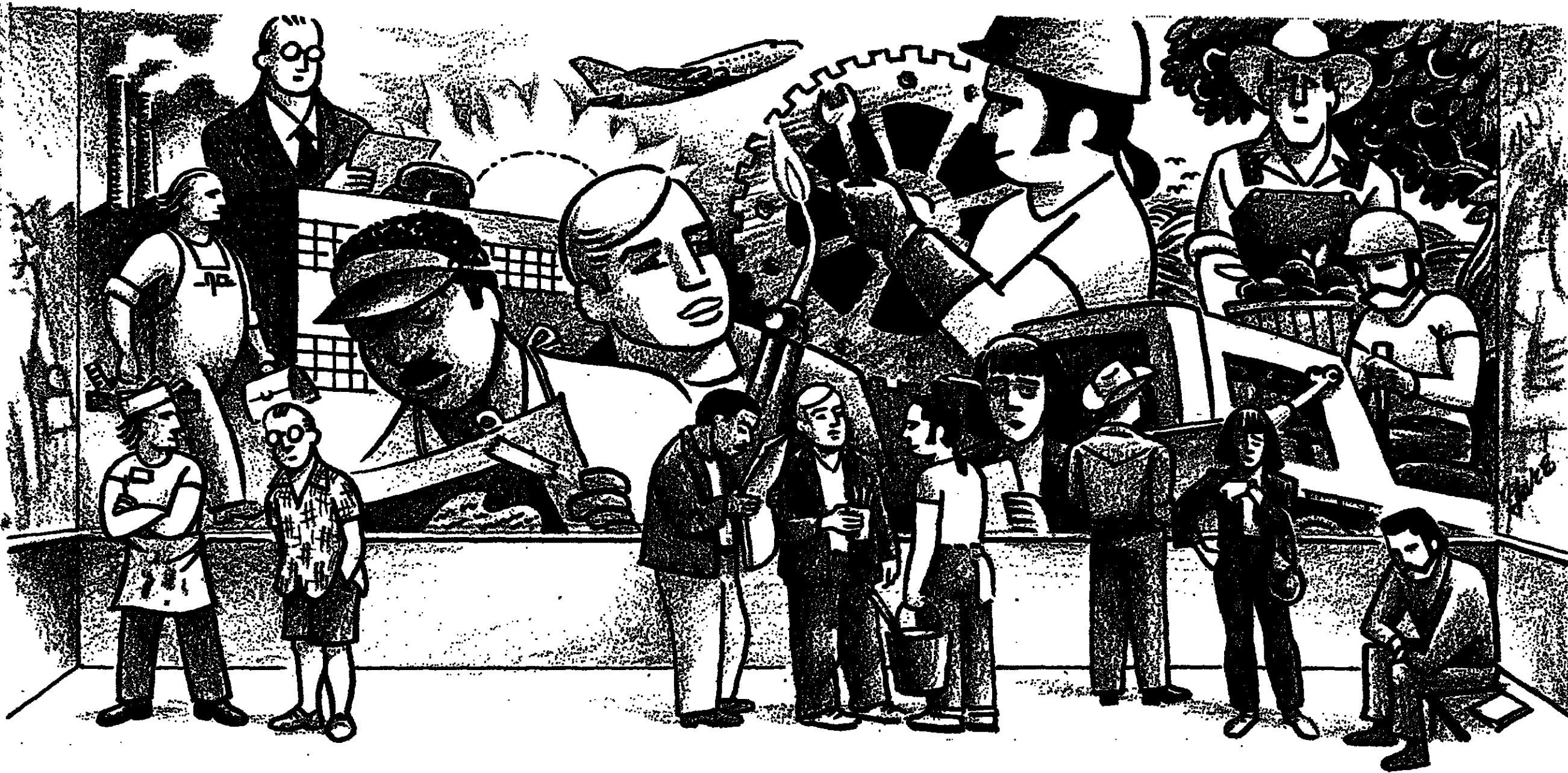
When speaking of terrorists, the BBC makes good use of its double-speak vocabulary. If it's an Irishman, then we have an Irish terrorist, but if of Palestinian stock then a Palestinian freedom fighter and so on: a Mujaheddin guerrilla, a Hamas militant, etc.

J. ROITMAN  
Haifa.

סוכן מילואים



## Insecurity Forever



Gary Hallgren

## The Rise of the Losing Class

By LOUIS UCHITELLE

**W**HEN Karl Marx described an increasingly miserable and exploited working class, he never imagined that his oppressed workers might someday include Ivy League M.B.A.'s tossed out of \$200,000-a-year jobs.

But a changing economy is gradually linking highly educated managers and technicians with high-school-trained assembly-line workers and office clerks. The link is in their common place in an increasingly competitive economy that no longer values workers as much as it once did. What they share, public opinion polls show, are feelings of uncertainty, insecurity and anxiety about their jobs and their incomes.

A class consciousness may be emerging from this shared anxiety — an awareness among millions of Americans that they occupy the same uneasy boat, even if they are doing well in high-paying jobs. Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich, giving the phenomenon a name, describes "the anxious class" as "consisting of millions of Americans who no longer can count on having their jobs next year, or next month, and whose wages have stagnated or lost ground to inflation."

But the growing sense that people of different levels of salary, education and skill may be victims of the same economic forces lacks two crucial elements of class consciousness as the term has historically been used: a class vocabulary and a class enemy. The traditional adversaries — big business, owners of capital, managers — are no longer viewed that way.

Instead, business is seen as also a victim, caught in a global competition that forces cost-cutting and layoffs. That sort of thinking showed up in focus group sessions and follow-up interviews with 2,400 workers of various levels of income and skill for a soon-to-be released study directed by Richard Freeman, a Harvard labor economist, and Joel Rogers, a professor of law and sociology at the University of Wisconsin.

## 'My Boss Is Trying'

"They tell us, 'My boss is trying hard, but there is nothing he can do, either,'" Mr. Rogers said. "That does not mean they don't see their employer as often unfair and cruel. But then they say he does not have the ability to protect them, which is much different than saying, 'He could protect me if he wanted to but he chooses not to.'"

## Different incomes, different educations, different jobs, but the same anxiety.

It is this forgiving attitude toward management that distinguishes today's unhappy workers from their forebears. If the boss were the target, it would be easier to know what to do: People might take action in groups. But public opinion polls show that while Americans are increasingly angry about their economic insecurity, neither business nor the forces that make companies so hard on workers are the targets of this anger. It is directed instead at government, immigrants and the poor, among others.

The 1994 electoral uprising suggested that if there is a class enemy it is an ill-defined political class, a combination of government and media that are seen as imposing their social and cultural views on an alienated

populace. But this modern populism, unlike the 19th-century movement that provided the name, sidesteps the main source of discontent: the economic changes that define America's new anxious class.

"You would think that in a free enterprise system, there would be more criticism of its warts," said Florence Skelly, vice chairman of DYG Inc., a polling company founded by Daniel Yankelovich. "Instead, we say that government should be run more like a business. And we deal with the boss by ousting the Congressman."

The anxiety, uncertainty and insecurity that characterize the new class consciousness show up in different ways in public opinion polls. Although the economy is growing briskly and unemployment is down, only 31 percent of those surveyed this month by Louis Harris & Associates see this improvement. "Over and over, people tell us they are concerned about their jobs, that they don't feel secure, that the economy is doing badly," Humphrey Taylor, Harris's chairman, said. "For most people, if the economy is not synonymous with jobs, it is at least highly coordinated with jobs."

Secretary Reich, who has argued that education

Continued on page 3

## So Goes the Nation

## How the Union Joined the South

By PETER APPLEBOME

**H**ERE'S to the land you tore out the heart of," went the song by the folk singer Phil Ochs during the bloody battles over integration in the South. "Mississippi, find yourself another country to be part of."

Three decades later, as the Republican Party Chairman, Haley Barbour of Mississippi, does his endless, homespun spin over his party's historic election sweep and conservative legislative agenda, it can be argued that Mississippi and the South have taken another route. Instead of finding another country, they have taken over this one.

The conservative tide overflowed the banks of the Potomac and the Hudson as well as the Mississippi and the Chattahoochee. But last week, as the President from Arkansas let the soon-to-be House Speaker from Georgia know he could be receptive to school prayer, it was clear that the economic and demographic trends that have characterized the South for decades have now turned into a cultural and political juggernaut as well.

Indeed, think of a place that's bitterly anti-government and fiercely individualistic, where race is a constant subtext to daily life and God and guns run through public discourse like an electric current. Think of a place where influential scholars market theories of white supremacy, where the word "liberal" is an epithet, where the harshest forms of law-and-order justice, including the death penalty, are politically all but unstoppable.

That has always been the South. For now, it seems to be the nation.

Indeed, almost everything in the current political and cultural climate, particularly House-Speaker-in-waiting Newt Gingrich's campaign to paint Democrats as enemies of "normal Americans," reflects the moral universe of traditional Southern politics.

"Southern politicians, particularly George Wallace, have always understood the importance of creating a moral force to your argument and you do this by creating an enemy; we're the good people, they're

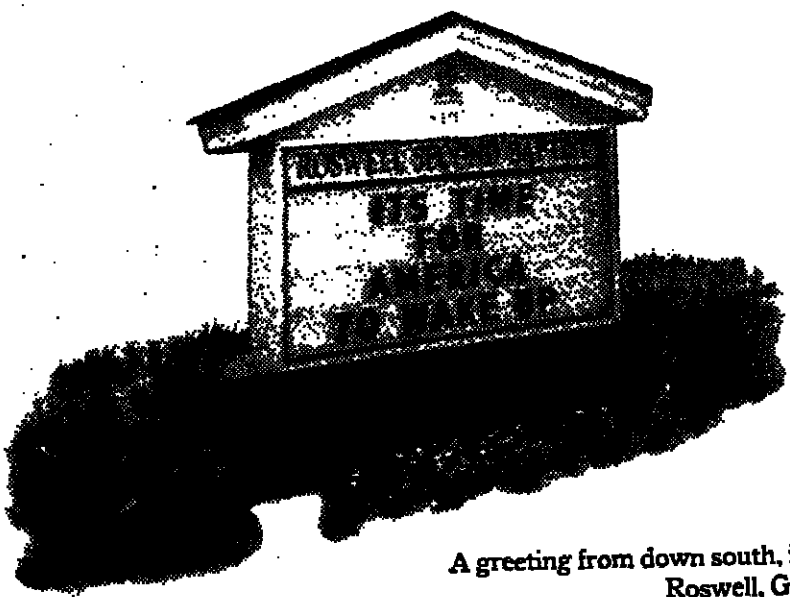
if the Republicans are eventually seen as the party of, say, Jesse Helms, Phil Gramm and Pat Robertson, and too tied to hard-right stances on issues like abortion. Already, some Republicans fear that Mr. Helms's harsh comments on President Clinton and Mr. Gingrich's campaign for school prayer may not sell so well outside the South.

To some extent, the South's political fortunes have risen as it has become less distinctive and more like the rest of the nation. And to some extent, what's happening in American politics is less a uniquely American phenomenon than one that mirrors conservative, nativist political trends around the world.

Still, three decades after the brutality of the civil rights era turned the South into something close to a pariah region, at least four forces have made the nation's politics and culture increasingly look like those of the South.

The first is the continuing economic expansion that has made the South the nation's most populous region, with all the political clout that comes with it, and the one attracting the most new residents. Second is the evolution of race from a distinctly Southern issue to a thoroughly national one. Third is anger with government and an edgy, anxious mood that have made the historic Southern distrust of government — and a fixation on the past — strikingly contemporary.

Fourth is the degree to which the shift of white voters from the Democratic to the Republican party, more than any other single factor, has provided the ballast for the



Alan S. Weiner for The New York Times

A greeting from down south, in Roswell, Ga.

"the other," said Dan Carter, a history professor at Emory University. "The South has always had a long tradition of this, not just in terms of race, but in terms of a general conservatism. You see a lot of that in the nation now."

Given the volatility of the American mood, only the most exuberant Republican could be confident the current political alignment will last. In fact, few doubt that the current conservative march could falter

Continued on page 4

Dark Continent  
For Americans,  
Africa is a land of  
many dreams and  
few realities.

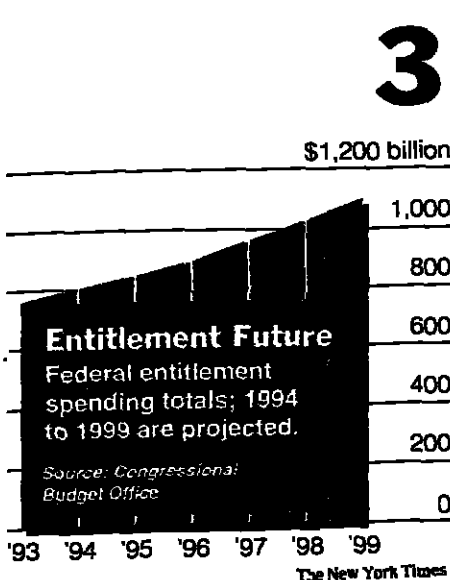
By Howard W. French



Jason Laude/Impact Visuals

Government Goodies  
The indignant  
middle class is also  
on the dole.

By Michael Wines



**Blunt Instrument**  
The Fed isn't  
the best  
inflation  
manager. It's  
the only one.

By Peter Passell

4



## The World

# An Ignorance of Africa As Vast as the Continent

By HOWARD W. FRENCH

**F**OR any American living in this city of gleaming skyscrapers and seamless asphalt highways, there is bound to be at least one encounter with another countryman who, roughing it elsewhere on the continent, says of Abidjan: "Of course, that's not really Africa."

By the same token, many American blacks who have spent time in African countries find themselves contending back home with the wide-eyed inquiries of friends or strangers who have never visited but see Africa as an idealized spiritual home of brotherhood and democracy.

As commonplace notions like these suggest, and because of the distance imposed by geography, if not by a conflicted history, Africa remains a projection screen for both the most blinkered prejudices and the wildest fantasies. For many Americans, the "real Africa" is a blurred concatenation of game parks, starving infants and genocidal warfare — or it's a Disney-fied cradle of civilization.

Unimpeded by facts, Americans imagine a world of glory — or of savagery.

Neither vision, of course, approaches the reality of a continent of some 50 nations and 800 million souls that encompasses everything from the unfulfilled potential of giants like Zaire and Nigeria to the improbably hopeful, newly minted realms like South Africa and Eritrea. The sweep of the continent provides enough material to bolster any pride or prejudice.

The rose-tinted version of this continent was recently paraded in Ghana at the first convention of the Nation of Islam held outside the United States. One speaker after another described Africa as a place whose problems could almost all be explained by divisions sowed among blacks by whites bent on despoiling and pillaging the land.

"We were navigating the oceans when Europeans still thought the world was flat," said one speaker, Rabbee Ben Israel, leader of a black Jewish sect who attributed Africa's problems to what he called a "famine of truth." The message of his lecture, like many others during the convention, was that the mere awareness of the continent's past greatness would set blacks free.

Such exaltation of Africa's past, which has enjoyed a certain vogue in recent years in the United States, has come under attack from many African intellectuals. At best, the oratory and cant are viewed as a time-wasting diversion from the work of economic development. At worst, it is regarded as intellectual scaffolding that obscures the failings of many African leaders and justifies authoritarian tendencies in the name of culture

al originality.

"The Africa of nationalisms has exhausted its resources," the Cameroonian sociologist, Axelle Kabou, wrote in an influential book, "And What If Africa Refused Development?" one of several recent works by African intellectuals deploring the glorification of the past by Africans in everything from poetry to political science.

In post-independence Africa, Ms. Kabou's book argues, the political use of *négritude*, which celebrates blackness, helped feed dictatorships like that of Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko with its jackboot ideology of "authenticity" that outlawed Western business suits and Christian names, and expropriated, then bled to death foreign-owned businesses in the cause of national sovereignty.

### Many Preconceptions

What preceded independence, and its attendant isms, and still lingers is a viewpoint much more pervasive and arguably more damaging than any excesses since. This Africa is the Dark Continent where the popular imagery runs from Edgar Rice Burroughs's fanciful white ape man to chronic, unchecked tribal massacres to the twin stereotypes of savagery and backwardness.

It is true that 18 of the world's 20 poorest countries are in Africa, and that the continent is the hardest hit by AIDS and famines of biblical proportions. However, it is equally true, but less well known, that a score of African countries have emerged from one-party dictatorships in this decade, and many of them are thriving. Countries like Ivory Coast and Botswana, Zimbabwe and Ghana often complain that the image of Africa that prevails in the West negates nations like theirs struggling effectively with the challenges of development and democratization.

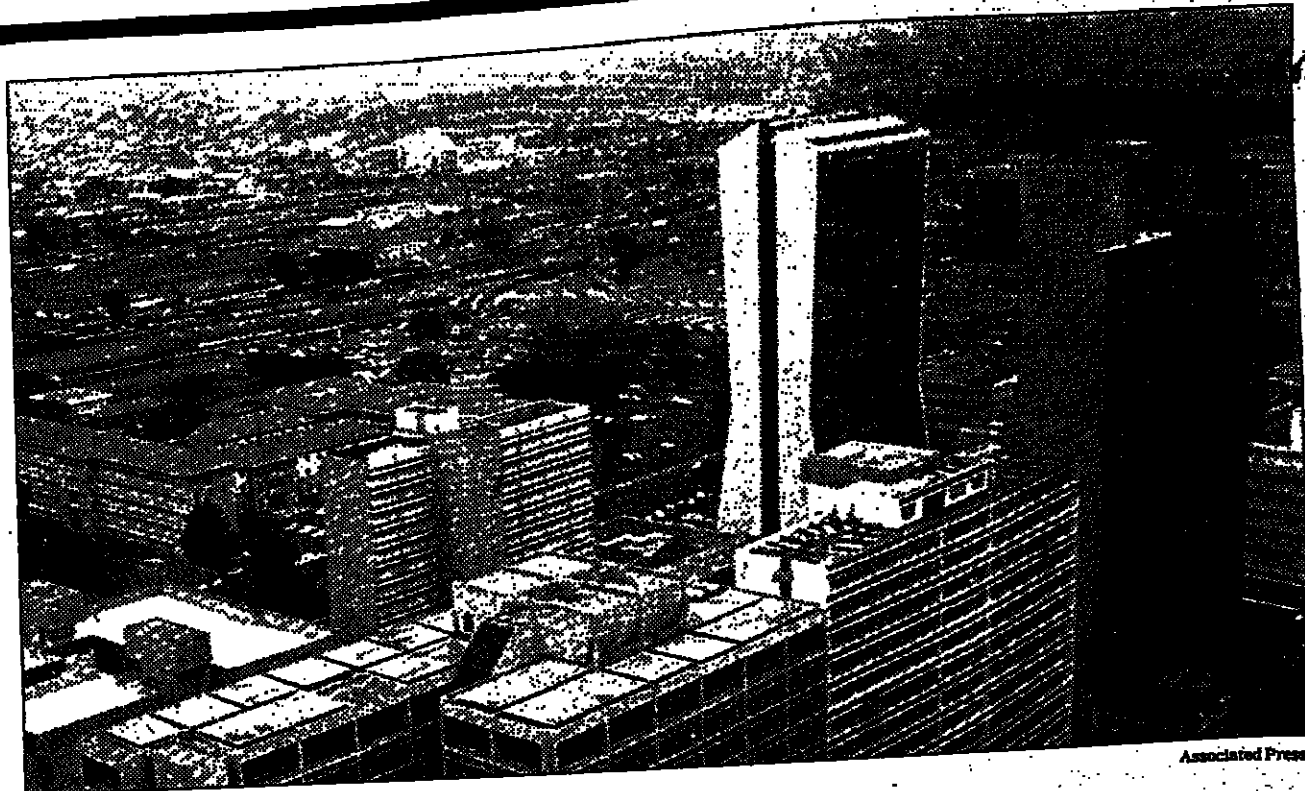
This thinking is particularly true in the United States, which lacks the familiarity with Africa that European countries have from generations of colonial involvement.

"This continent offers some of the most profitable opportunities for investment anywhere," one frustrated World Bank official said recently, complaining about the indifference of American business toward serious efforts at reform in countries like Zimbabwe and Ghana. "But how do you get people in the United States to think about investing here when the only thing they know about Africa is Rwanda?"

If many black Americans have been seduced by Afrocentrism's romanticism, it is clear that even among these Americans, lack of interest, misapprehension and even repulsion are common.

"When I first came to Africa in 1981 on a tour with a group of friends," said Emmett MacDonald, a black American record producer who lives here, "some of our mothers came to see us off and offered to buy us tents to sleep in and cases of Coca-Cola so that we would be sure to have something safe to drink. For a lot of black Americans there is still a kind of shame that attaches to Africa because of all the images out there."

For the Europeans, who played a decisive role in shaping boundaries and exploiting the continent's vast mineral resources, Africa remains a distinctive grid of



African Africa: Downtown Nairobi, Kenya.



American Africa: Dancers at the annual African-American Day Parade in Harlem.

cookie-cutter countries, each with its own colonial language, each belonging to a putative sphere of Western influence. But for the Americans, particularly filmmakers, writers and other shapers of the popular culture, the continent is still a forbidding, almost undifferentiated land mass, stripped even of the cold war shadings that supposedly enabled them to distinguish the good guys from the bad.

### Alarmist Jumbles

Africa, unlike many other regions of the world, is routinely given the broad brush in the American press. Many Africans complain that even serious writing, like the widely discussed article, "The Coming Anarchy," by Robert Kaplan, which appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly* earlier this year, makes an alarmist jumble of Africa that betrays American prejudices while trying to explain the continent's realities.

"Each time I went to the Abidjan bus terminal, my taxi, demanding tips for carrying my luggage," writes Mr. Kaplan, who argues that thuggery is sweeping the third world, filling the void left by vanished ideological struggles.

"The tragedy is that he will mislead a lot of people, and be used by others for dubious purposes, and it will be West Africa that suffers," an editorialist wrote in *West Africa*, a regional magazine, replying to Mr. Kaplan's work. "But this will not be the first time that different parts of the region have been used as passive foils for the psychoses of others."

Mr. MacDonald, the record producer, took another view. "For Africa, it is like the world doesn't recognize that there is parallel chronological movement," he said. "Either we overcompensate and boost it by invoking the past, or we just write it off as one big poverty-stricken phantasm."

## A Revolution That Isn't

# Few Fan Sparks as Cuba Smolders

By TIM GOLDEN

**O**NE morning late in the summer exodus that became a spectacle of Cubans' desperation under Communist rule, a compact, 40-ish woman marched down a rocky beach near this city to where a group of would-be refugees was fashioning a raft from scrap lumber and old inner tubes.

"Why should we leave?" the woman demanded suddenly, stopping the work cold. "If we are going to risk our lives in the sea, letting the sharks eat us, why not die fighting against the ruler? Did we not fight against Batista when he had a big army? Why can we not fight against Fidel, when he is killing us by not giving us food?"

Throughout the sweltering Cuban summer, such eruptions of dissent led many students of the island's politics to suspect a turning point in people's willingness to confront the Government, at least in order to escape it: State-owned boats were hijacked, even after at least 33 people were killed when one of them was sunk by the authorities as it tried to get away. Hundreds, maybe thousands, of people rioted against the security forces near the Havana sea wall on Aug. 5. More than 30,000 people fled in rafts, many of them rallying openly about the regime as they left.

Weeks later, however, the bold woman of the beach, who said she had just quit as an officer in the Interior Ministry, was asking softly that her name not be published. Over timbales of strong coffee in a tiny, concrete-block apartment, she despaired that the power of President Fidel Castro's security apparatus might never be broken.

"What I fear," she nearly whispered when a young daughter had left the room, "is that I will not live to see the end of this."

### Nothing to Burn

It was easy enough to see what kept the summer's sparks from catching: There was no tinder. Leaders of the small political and human rights groups that constitute the island's dissident movement were still trying to telephone one another about the riot when security forces rounded them up for brief detentions. Catholic Church leaders criticized the sinking of the hijacked ferry, then fell virtually silent. Priests of the growing Afro-Cuban and Pentecostal sects would hardly have thought of speaking out. Disaf-



In the province of Cienfuegos, near the town of Ariza, a Cuban farmer gathers feed for his animals from a sugar cane field. The summer exodus is over, but discontent remains.

affected revolutionaries like the woman on the beach found themselves stirred but with nowhere to go.

As the season turned, the country's mood changed. The rafters disappeared, their impulses stilled by an American promise that at least 20,000 people would be allowed to emigrate to the United States legally each year. Shortly afterward, the tumult of their departures gave way to new, Government-sanctioned farmers' markets and preparations for the free sale of other goods ranging from brooms and beer to plastic sinks and homemade coffee pots.

Such developments were not likely to change the minds of people who opposed the Government. With prices in the free markets well above what many Cubans could afford, they hardly sated the country's hunger. But whether or not they signal any end to Cuba's devastating economic decline that began with the collapse of the Soviet bloc, some of those who were fed up spoke of things getting a little easier for the first time in memory.

Like the summer, the brave raft voyagers belong to the past.

"You know what a free market is?" a gnarled man of 65 asked as he sold straw hats at a weekend fair in the town of Santo Domingo, near the center of the island. "You have a cow, you want to kill it, you kill it! The way things should be."

Even to the extent that Cuba's tentative experiments in economic liberalization succeeded in releasing pressure by making food and other goods more available, they carry an obvious political cost. The Communist Party is ceding its monopoly control of material rewards. Like other Cubans, the mid-level army officers and apparatchiks

whose status sometimes means little more than an extra bag of groceries, must fend for themselves in the harsh capitalism of a teeming black market. The ideological firmament of a generation is slowly cracking.

"The educated me to be like Che, to think like Che, as a real Communist," a 34-year-old man named Juan said, referring to the revolutionary hero Ernesto (Che) Guevara as he explained why he had quit as captain in the Interior Ministry a few weeks before. "Everything has changed. We did not struggle all that we did to end up like this. The men who are running this country now are not real Communists."

Still, it is hard to imagine what a man like Juan might see in, say, Elizardo Sánchez. A former political prisoner, Mr. Sánchez has a reputation abroad as a thoughtful, even courageous advocate for human rights, a careful moderate in extreme circumstances. But he is not much of a politician, and he has few illusions about what kind of movement he might lead.

"I always thought Cubans were very

brave and tough," he said. "But that is really the legend that we have for ourselves. What these 35 years of Castro have showed us is that we are a peaceful people, a people better suited for receiving tourists than for combat."

### The Visa Valve

Whether immigration pressures might threaten Mr. Castro as they did his counterparts in Eastern Europe will likely depend on the success of the immigration agreement that Cuba signed with the United States Sept. 9. But it is doubtful that even 20,000 visas will be enough for those who would like to leave, particularly if the Clinton Administration retracts its vow that the Cuban refugees will no longer be admitted automatically into the United States. And with the political-control mechanisms of the Government and the faith of some revolutionaries eroding, the question is perhaps not whether there will be more sparks, but what they might ignite.

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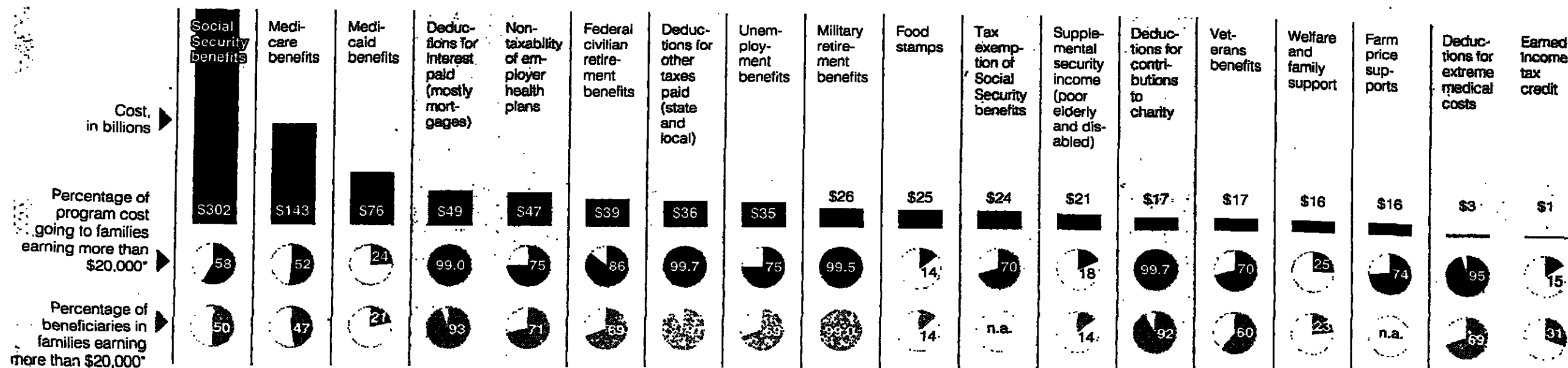
# The Nation

## Taxpayers Are Angry. They're Expensive, Too.

Now that Republicans control Congress, there will be some pressure to fulfill one of the promises of the "Contract With America" — a balanced budget. Back in the early Reagan years, balanced budget promises were accompanied by stories of welfare mothers buying vodka with food stamps. Now the watchword is welfare reform. Either way, the implication is that cracking down on the poor will bring about big savings. But once budget committees start looking at Federal costs, both in

direct payments and in money the Government doesn't take in through tax breaks, they'll find that there are precious few poor people's programs to cut. The bulk of the money goes to the politically potent middle class.

Below are figures for some Federal spending programs in fiscal 1993 and tax breaks given for individuals in 1992 and filed in 1993, based on early reviews of the returns.



\*Tax break figures are for 1992; entitlement figures are for 1990. The figure for farm support payments is the percentage of farm families making \$25,000 from all sources of income in 1990.

The pie charts show benefits going to middle- and upper-class families. The \$20,000 threshold is one and a half times the poverty level (\$13,359 for a family of four in 1990), so it includes the working poor.

Federal spending on entitlements (\$762 billion total in fiscal 1993)

Tax breaks (\$400 billion not paid in Federal income tax for 1992)

Sources: Congressional Budget Office; Internal Revenue Service; Congressional Research Service; Office of Management and Budget; Employee Benefit Research Institute; Department of Agriculture; Census Bureau

By MICHAEL WINES

WASHINGTON  
**A**mericans believe that their Government wastes vast wads of cash on pork-barrel highways, naval bases in the landlocked home states of important Senators and handouts to an ungrateful underclass — and that wiping out all this would balance the budget.

After the election of 1994, few Republicans or even Democrats deny that the voters have a point.

But like most truths, this one is not absolute. Sure, Congress is a certain soft touch. But the biggest beneficiaries of the benefits mandated by law are not grifters or crack addicts or well-connected defense contractors: they are mostly average folk, like you. Or me.

Direct aid to the Government-certified poor — food stamps, Medicaid, Supplemental Security Income, Aid to Families with Dependent Children — totals about

\$140 billion a year. That is roughly what the Government spends on Medicare, providing services to the elderly at roughly one quarter of their actual cost.

And payments to the poor add up to less than the three largest tax breaks that benefit the middle class and wealthy: deductions for retirement plans, the deduction for home mortgage interest and the exemption of health-insurance premiums that companies pay for their employees.

### Don't Touch

Perhaps more important, most tax breaks and payments to the well-situated are practically exempt from the debate over controlling expenditures.

There are some arguments in favor of this. Cutting Social Security and tax-deferred retirement plans could push some of the elderly below the poverty level. Curbing the mortgage interest break would devalue homes and crimp sales.

And politically, the principle known in budgetese as "means-testing" seems a dead letter. Republicans and Democrats alike say they won't seek limits in the largest entitlement, Social Security, although a large share goes to people who live in relative comfort. When Mr. Clinton's budget director, Alice Rivlin, floated the idea of limiting some popular middle- and upper-class tax breaks, like the mortgage deduction, Republicans pounced on the Democratic "tax-and-spend" philosophy, and the White House disavowed her.

Some experts say that ignores the Willie Sutton law of accounting: to balance the budget, you go where the money is, and the money these days is put mostly in the hands of people who are not poor. "My view of life is, you rule out taxes and Social Security and most Medicare, and you're not serious" about balancing the budget, said Charles Schultze of the Brookings Institution, who was chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Carter. "I don't care what you say. You're not really playing the game."

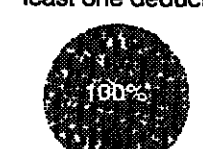
### Entitlements vs. Tax Breaks

Percentage of households that received Federal entitlement benefits in 1990.



Average benefits per recipient family: \$10,320

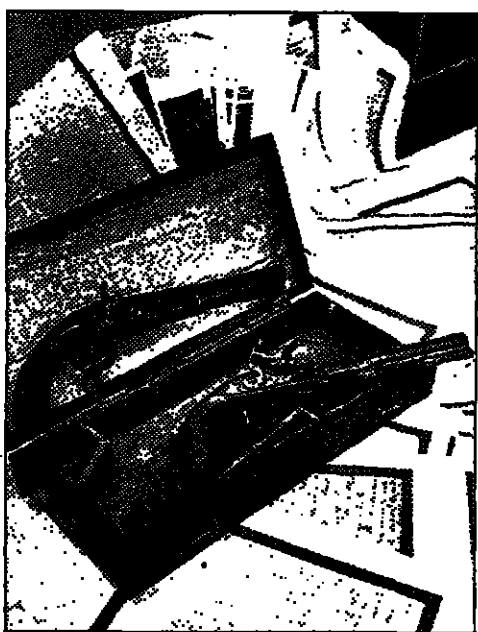
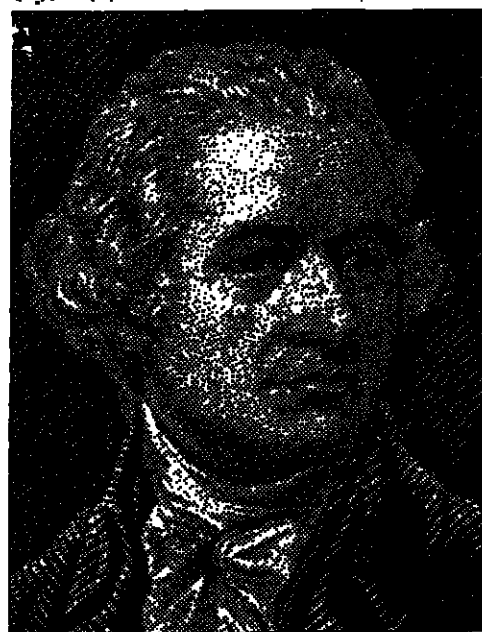
Percentage of tax filers that received a tax break for 1992. (Everyone gets at least one deduction.)



Average tax break per filer: About \$5,000

Sources: Congressional Budget Office; Internal Revenue Service; Office of Management and Budget.

The New York Times



After losing New York's 1804 gubernatorial race, Aaron Burr, at right, killed Alexander Hamilton, one of his critics, in a duel.

## As Ever, Politics With a Vengeance

By SAM ROBERTS

**G**ERALD AND SARAH MURPHY, the socialite friends of F. Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald, loftily declared that living well was the best revenge. But politicians are generally a less self-sufficient lot. Rather than abiding by the Murphys' benign maxim, they are more likely to invoke Machiavelli's darker dictum: "It is much more safe to be feared than to be loved" or Joseph P. Kennedy's credo, "Don't get mad, get even." Politicians typically define revenge as living well at someone else's expense.

Enter, or perhaps, exit, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani. By bolting the Republican Party to embrace Gov. Mario M. Cuomo for re-election, Mr. Giuliani gained stature among many of his New York City constituents. But disloyalty stings even more deeply than defeat. The Mayor alienated his party, Gov.-elect George E. Pataki (who refused even to engage in a game of telephone tag) and Mr. Pataki's patron, United States Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato. "I'm not going to squish him," a magnanimous Mr. D'Amato said of the Mayor. "He's going to squish himself."

What price betrayal? The Mayor need only glance out his office window to the heroic statue of Nathan Hale in City Hall Park — heroic, only because the losers, in that case, the British, rarely get to write history. And while, as the historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. cautions, "very few politicians are serious carriers of grudges because alliances shift all the time," history is rife with tales of retribution for real or perceived cases of betrayal. The most infamous followed New York's 1804 gubernatorial campaign. The loser, Aaron Burr, challenged a critic, Alexander Hamilton, to a duel and killed him.

"The politicians who make a lastin' success in politics are the men who are always loyal to their friends, even up to the gate of state prison," George Washington Plunkitt once said. Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada's first prime minister, sought absolute political loyalty. "I will support you whenever I think you are right," a Canadian senator told him. To which Sir John replied: "What I want is a man that will support me when I am wrong."

### Jefferson Gets Even

In 1801, Thomas Jefferson purged the Federalists who had opposed his election as President — an early manifestation of a system enshrined in American politics three decades later by Senator William Learned Marcy of New York. Defending Andrew Jackson's patronage practices, Marcy said that American politicians "see nothing wrong in the rule, that to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy."

Other examples of political revenge are legion, from the criminal to the petty: Richard M. Nixon's enemies list; the impeachment in 1913 of Gov. William Sulzer of New York, for turning on the Tammany machine; Lyndon B. Johnson's unseating his student council rivals at San Marcos Teachers College — "they lost everything I could have them lose" — and his admonition that if an anti-war Senator wanted another dam in his state he should ask Ho Chi Minh (a sentiment echoed last week in a defeated Democratic congressman's bitter suggestion to constituents, "Ask Newt what your country can do for you").

In 1948, Bernard Baruch refused President Harry S. Truman's invitation to serve on the Democratic Party's finance committee, but asked Truman for a favor: to send Baruch's brother, the Ambassador to Holland, as sole representative to the coro-

nation of Queen Juliana. Truman replied: "A great many honors have been passed your way, both to you and your family, and it seems when the going is rough it is a one-way street." Then the President announced the appointment of two extra representatives to the coronation.

Truman managed to acknowledge the ambassador's role and belittle him simultaneously. Mr. Pataki showed the same knack last week, when he finally invited the Mayor to a meeting — with nine other city officials, on Staten Island. Mr. Giuliani declined.

Other politicians retaliate with backhanded compliments. When Mayor James J. Walker of New York named his predecessor, John F. Hylan, to the Children's Court, he said: "The appointment of Judge Hylan means that the children now can be tried by their peer." President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in a mixed message of gratitude to Mayor James M. Curley of Boston, rejected Curley's request to be Secretary of the Navy and named him instead as Ambassador to Poland — a slight Curley never forgave. His biographer, Jack Beaty, credited Curley with recognizing that "politics was the barely sublimated articulation of hatred, envy and revenge."

"He understood that a politician has to show the electorate that he is a fit vehicle for their hopes, yes, but also for their fears and prejudices. Ruthlessness is a time-tested way of convincing them."

Eventually, though, the voters get to exact the greatest revenge. And even winning candidates are vulnerable to retribution, which Eric Hoffer philosophized, "means that we eventually do to ourselves what we have done unto others." Or, as Scott Fitzgerald wrote, twisting the words of his literary forebears, "the victor belongs to the spoils."

### United in Insecurity

## The Emergence Of the Losing Class

Continued from page 1

and training provide the best assurance of job security, contends that most members of the anxious class have only high-school educations. But he, too, now acknowledges that education is less and less of a buffer against the joblessness and stagnant incomes that are drawing people into a sense of shared uncertainty.

A variety of statistics shows that the incomes of college-educated people have been failing in recent years to keep pace with inflation. Men in their early 50's with four years of college, for example, have been stuck for 10 years at the same income, adjusted for inflation, according to the findings of Frank Levy, a labor economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

"In the old days, in the 1950's and 1960's, if

the less educated across the income and education spectrum.

"Every day people open the newspaper and see that some major company has laid off workers," Mr. Taylor said. "I am sure that downsizing is now seen as a permanent function of management, and that is new."

Americans in the past dealt with labor problems differently than they do today, reflecting a different class structure. During the Depression, the thousands laid off at Ford Motor Company, for example, saw Henry Ford as the enemy and the source of a solution. They agitated for relief pay from Ford or shorter hours for those still working, to make room for those laid off.

### Sense of Entitlement

"People thought of themselves as having rights from companies," said Joshua Freeman, a labor historian at Columbia University. That sense of entitlement grew even stronger in the early decades after World War II, and collective bargaining — or simply bargaining with management in the case of nonunion companies — became the arena for arguing out wages, pensions, health insurance, vacations, hours and job security.

That system is disappearing today. Career-long attachments to one employer, a notion born in the 1920's, are no longer the norm. The new class consciousness makes less distinction between workers and managers. Rights are relative, at best. An increasingly conservative electorate has reduced government's role in regulating the economy. Unions have lost influence and membership.

And against a background of rising competition, corporate America has gained the power to reorganize and relocate and downsize, almost at will — leaving, as Mr. Freeman put it, "no structure to deal with the new anxiety and uncertainty."

What people do is try to cope, by themselves, said Ms. Skelly, of DGY. Self-employment is one solution, DGY's polls show, and that is a rising trend. "They try, on the job, to hide any chinks in their performance," she said. "They work longer hours and take work home, without letting the boss know, to give the impression that they can do difficult tasks quickly. There is nothing like, 'We are all in this together.' There is too much competition. People talk of their vulnerability to friends and spouses, but not to co-workers."

And many Americans feel in their hearts that the layoffs might be justified. "There is a sense among people that we are inefficient and bloated," Ms. Skelly said. "And until they feel that is no longer true, they are reluctant to criticize the forces that are cutting out the fat and the inefficiencies."

In the new order, managers are not the enemy. 'We deal with the boss by ousting the Congressman.'

you lost a job, you could get another, paying less, and within a few years your rising income would soon get you back to your old level," Mr. Levy said. "It was a safety net."

### The Fearsome Future

"For the first time in 50 years, we are recording a decline in people's expectations," said Richard T. Curtin, director of the University of Michigan's Consumer Surveys. "And their uncertainty and anxiety grow the farther you ask them to look into the future."

The source of these feelings, and the nascent class consciousness, appears to be rooted mainly in layoffs, both real and expected. Over the last decade or so, layoffs have spread from blue-collar workers and



## Ideas & Trends

# Fine-Tuning With a Hammer

By PETER PASSELL

**W**HEN for the first time in a decade, the Federal Reserve raised interest rates by a startling three-quarters of a percentage point last week, there was hardly a murmur of protest from the White House or Congress. And for an obvious reason: America's factories and offices are running at full tilt, much faster than the talking heads were predicting just a few months ago.

But lurking behind the near-consensus that it is time to rein in the economy is the disquieting reality that Washington has come to rely exclusively on the Fed to buffer the ebb and flood of economic tides. And while the institution generally gets high marks from economists — "It's hard to fault monetary policy in the last decade," said Benjamin M. Friedman of Harvard — there is, arguably, a substantial price to be paid for leaving it all to the gnomes.

For one thing, Government's increasing reliance on monetary policy is a symptom of the paralysis of the nation's budget-making process. If this was such a dandy moment to reduce private spending by crunching credit, it should have been an even dandier moment to kill two economic birds with one stone — reducing private spending by raising taxes or by cutting Government spending, and thereby trimming the deficit as well.

To put it another way, instead of making it harder for private interests to borrow, it might have been nice to make it harder for the Government to borrow. "This year should have been the year the budget went into surplus," laments David Hale, an economist at the Kemper Financial Group in Chicago.

For another, the interest-rate increase represents the political triumph of single-minded inflation-fighters over those who would prefer to balance the risk of inflation against the risk of pushing the economy into decline. And the threat of another recession is probably greater than most Americans (including President Clinton) imagine.

"We've barely begun to feel the effects of the 2½-percentage-point interest-rate increases initiated in February," warned William Nordhaus, an economist at Yale University.

The case for a solid jolt in interest rates was not hard to make. While it is true that

**Love the Fed or hate it, it's just about all Washington has to work with in the fight against inflation.**

inflation is showing only faint signs of kicking up, the rates of unemployment and factory output have both hit levels that did lead to higher prices in the 1970's and 1980's. It came as no great surprise, then, that both Alan Blinder and Janet Yellen, neoliberal academic economists appointed to the Fed by President Clinton, voted for the increase last week.

What was a little surprising, at least given the rhetoric of the 1992 Presidential campaign, was the failure to see the current boom as a time to take another whack at the

Federal deficit. In a Keynesian world of active fiscal policy, government budgets are supposed to counter the natural cycle in business activity by raising people's purchasing power in lean economic times or cutting it during periods of robust growth. A "neutral" budget policy would be one in which the budget was balanced as the economy approached full capacity.

Keynesian economics is out of fashion in the sense that few experts still believe Washington has the political or economic savvy to change the Government's fiscal stance in a timely way. One reason Keynesian economics fell into disfavor is that the results take so long to show up that few politicians have faith in the theory.

But the idea that deficit cutting is less of a problem during economic booms is still alive and well. Indeed, the Clinton Administration was divided over the wisdom of the President's deficit-reduction plan in 1993 because some very respectable economists feared it would push a wobbly economy into recession. Nobody, of course, believes the economy is wobbling now.

Mr. Friedman thinks it would have been a fine time to reduce the budget deficit once again, freeing more economic resources for private investment that would increase long-term growth rates. "It was a lost opportunity," he concluded wistfully.

Another, subtler concern is that dependence on the Fed to fine-tune the economy is itself risky.

The worry here is not that Congress and the White House have forsaken the role they assumed in the 1960's and 1970's, when they used the power to tax and spend to smooth the bumps on the economic road. Even economists who believe that such strategies offered a reliable means of changing consumer and investor behavior acknowledge



Jody Emery

that timing was a problem. The gaps between deciding on a plan and putting it into action were so long that the business cycle often turned before the policy was in place.

What is arguably a worry, though, is that the Fed's priorities differ from those of officials who face the electorate at regular intervals.

"The Fed is paid to uphold the purchasing power of the dollar, period," concluded Robert Hormats of Goldman Sachs International. But without the older correctives of taxing and spending, the Fed is the only game in town and its agenda, inflation-fighting, is the only one that matters.

### Delayed Effects

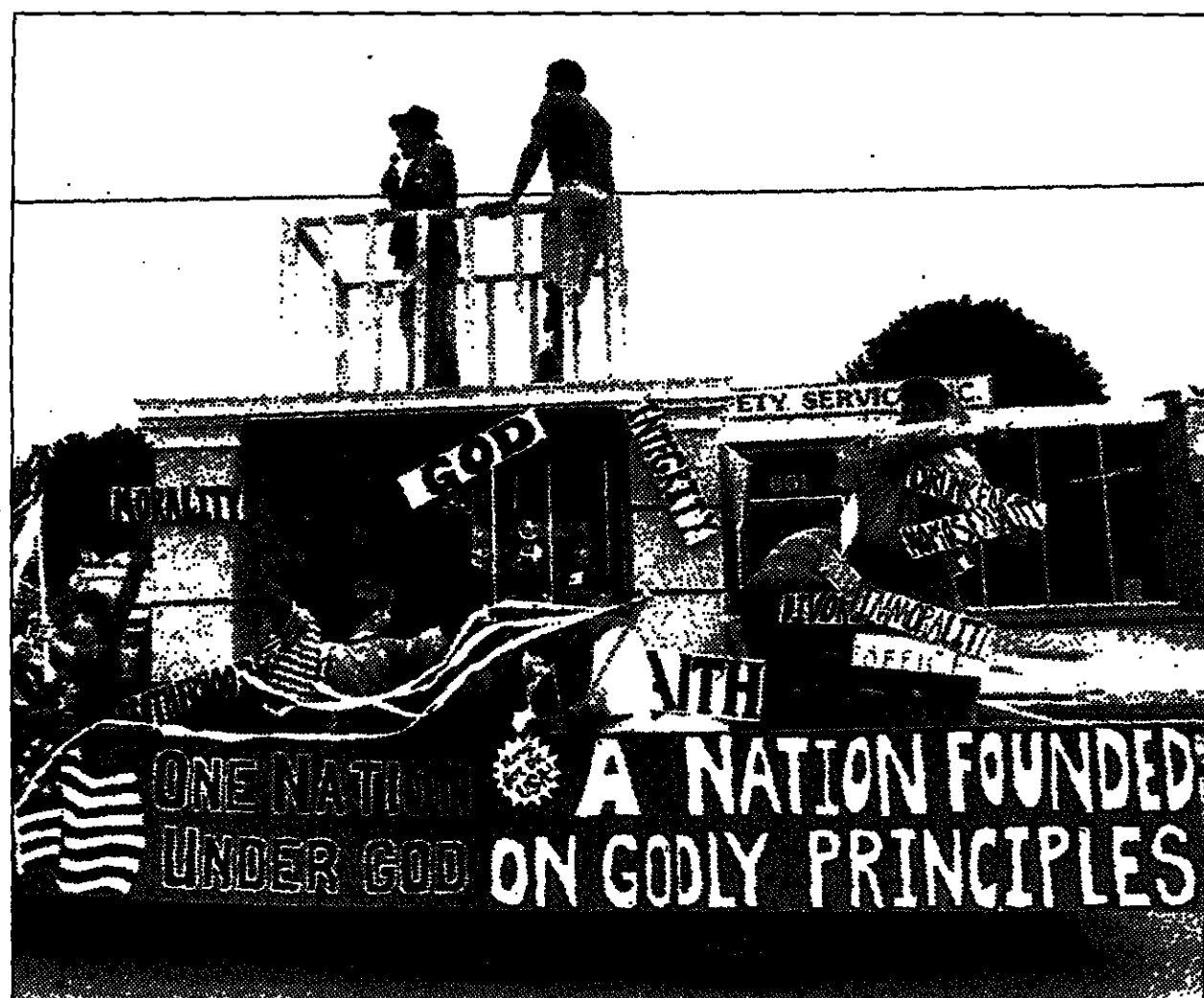
Of course, the Fed is regularly obliged to justify its policies to Congress. But there is a catch: While the Fed can turn interest rates on a dime, it takes a very long time to realize the consequences. Mr. Nordhaus

notes that the latest economic models suggest it takes 15 to 18 months to feel the brunt of changes in monetary policy. And that implies that the long upward march in interest rates that began last February are only beginning to be felt.

This is probably not a great concern to a majority of Fed governors who would apparently prefer to err on the side of price stability, taking the chance that excessively tight money will push the economy into recession — as it apparently did in 1990.

Nor, suggest Mr. Hale, is it a great concern to the more conservative members of President Clinton's economic circle, who share the Fed's bias and in any case would rather face the political repercussions from rising unemployment in 1995 than in the election year of 1996.

But it might well concern Americans who, in spite of being employed in record numbers, sense that their jobs are always on the line.



A float in this year's Cobb County, Ga., Fourth of July parade offered a litany of virtues (and vices).

### So Goes the Nation

## How the Union Came to Join the South

Continued from page 1

Republican takeover of Congress. In the process, it has propelled Southerners from a conservative minority in a largely liberal Democratic Party to positions of leadership in a staunchly conservative Republican one.

Throw it all together and you get the ultimate triumph of the Republican strategy born during the Nixon era. Looking at the political leanings of the

**The nation has veered between seeing the South as home of nitwits and racists and as a bastion of piety and sound values.**

South, Attorney General John Mitchell predicted presciently, if prematurely, that "this country is going so far to the right you're not going to be able to recognize it."

There is a long, tangled history to all this, dating back perhaps to the end of Reconstruction, the last time that Republicans ruled the South.

The historian John Hope Franklin, at Duke University, notes that the North and South made their peace not at the Civil War's end but after Reconstruction, when both agreed that the South could pursue its own course on race as long as the North could exploit its resources.

"The South didn't win the war, but it won the peace," Professor Franklin said. "It's been going in

that direction ever since."

Still, it was not until the civil rights revolution extended beyond the South, in the 1960's, that race became a major issue outside the South. Since then it has become an insistent strain just below the surface of the nation's politics, suffusing explosive issues like welfare and crime with a powerful racial charge, much as race always defined the politics of the South.

"As race has escaped from the South and become nationalized, it has become the hot-button issue in American life," said Julian Bond, the former civil rights leader who now teaches at the American University and the University of Virginia. "You don't have to join the Christian Coalition. Race is such a hot button you don't even have to push it for it to go off."

To many liberals, race is the hidden force behind the conservative surge and the dark side of the nationalization of Southern politics. After all, much of the South's traditional hatred of government stems from the war over slavery and the Federal Government's enforcement of desegregation a century later.

But just as the nation has always veered back and forth, from seeing the South as a place of nitwits and racists to an American Eden of piety and down-home values, the South's current influence is about more than race. In fact, it remains to be seen whether that influence will reflect the angry, send-them-a-message South of George Wallace and Ross Barnett, or a place that for all its tortured history has often been anchored by a sense of continuity and faith that the nation seems to be desperately seeking.

At the very least, it is no longer looking at the South as a place with problems of race and poverty somehow apart from the rest of the country.

"I was asked recently to write a chapter for a book on 'the end of the South as an American problem,'" said John Egerton, a writer in Nashville. "I said I could do that in my sleep. The South isn't an American problem. America is an American problem."

## Proud to Be Your Bud, But It Wasn't Working Out

By STUART ELLIOTT

**A**BUDWEISER advertising slogan from 1911, "The old reliable," could have also described how the brewer, Anheuser-Busch Inc., felt about its advertising agency. The St. Louis office of D'Arcy Masius Benton & Bowles had created campaigns for Budweiser since 1915, making their relationship one of the most enduring in an industry where change is a constant.

So it was startling when Anheuser-Busch abruptly

**For 79 years, Anheuser-Busch and a nation listened to jingles from the same agency. But they didn't sell enough beer.**

announced last week that it would dismiss D.M.B. & B. after 79 years together. Starting in February, responsibilities for creating the approximately \$125 million worth of Budweiser ads that appear annually will be shifted to DDB Needham Chicago, which handles other Anheuser-Busch accounts.

As D.M.B. & B. strove to persuade beer drinkers to buy Budweiser rather than Schlitz, Blatz, Rheingold or Olde Frothingshlosh, the agency produced some of the most familiar slogans and jingles in American advertising.

Many reflected their Zeitgeist. During the hard-sell days of the 1930's and 1940's, ads urged, "Make this test — drink Budweiser for five days." In the mid-1970's, Budweiser reassured the nation that "somebody still cares about quality."

And during the fabulous 50's, the Crewcuts warbled:

*At a concert or a show,  
In your own backyard,  
Wherever you go,  
Budweiser beer is for folks who know,  
Where there's life... there's Bud. Budweiser."*

When temperance movements loomed large, "Budweiser means moderation" became the brand's watchwords. When Prohibition took effect anyway, Anheuser-Busch sold malt and chocolate- and coffee-flavored beverages. And in 1933, when the beer flowed



Joe Namath in a 1993 "Bud Bowl" spot.

again, D.M.B. & B. was prepared, promoting Budweiser for its "old-time flavor."

For almost 40 years, Budweiser has been the nation's best-selling beer. But for the last decade, the "king of beers" — another D.M.B. & B. slogan, created in 1952 — has had an uneasy reign.

Competition from light beers (including Bud Light), imported beers and the more robust products produced by microbreweries has taken its toll. Budweiser's sales have declined from a peak 50.4 million barrels in 1988 to 43.3 million last year.

The fickleness of beer drinkers has been mirrored in D.M.B. & B.'s ever-more-frantic flailing to find ways to address them. Since 1990, when the 11-year run of "This Bud's for you" ended, the agency has brought out "Nothing beats a Bud," "Proud to be your Bud" and, just last month, "It's always been true... This Bud's for you."

Beer drinkers, though, are not alone in searching for alternatives. Among the marketers joining Anheuser-Busch in ending long agency relationships are the Seagram Company, which recently left DDB Needham New York after 32 years; the Kmart Corporation, which is leaving Ross Roy Communications after 25 years; and the Haggard Apparel Company, which left Tracy-Locke, a DDB Needham agency in Dallas, after 53 years.

So perhaps what happened last week was nothing more than another client deciding, to paraphrase one more slogan, that it knew when to say when.



"Here comes the king!" The Anheuser-Busch Budweiser Clydesdale team on parade.

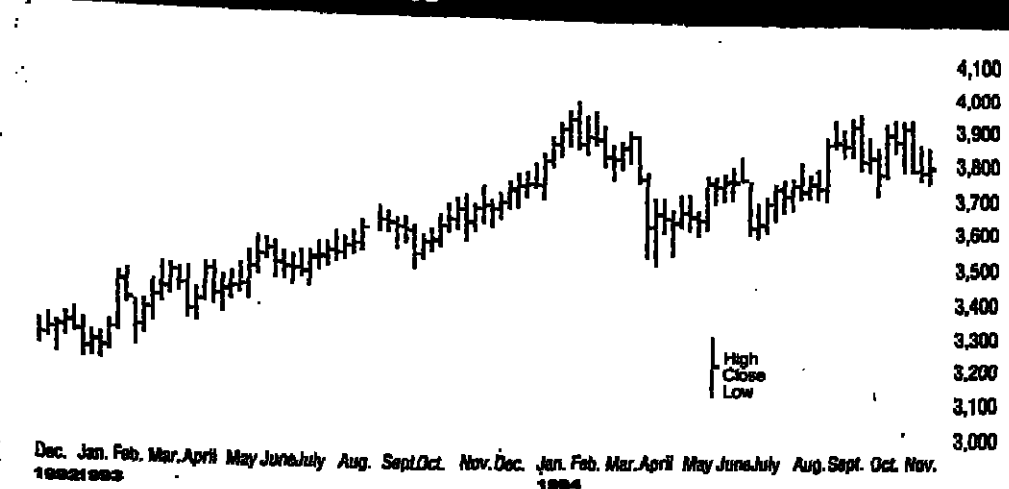


مكتبة من الأعمال

## The Economy

## The Stock Markets Last Week

DOW JONES INDUSTRIAL AVERAGE



## MARKET DIARY

	NYSE	NASDAQ	AMEX
Advanced	1,110	1,875	311
Declined	1,611	2,640	507
Unchanged	340	877	175
Issues Traded	3,061	5,392	993
New Highs	74	181	31
New Lows	584	310	141

## MARKET INDEXES

	Close	Chg	%Chg	YTD %
D. J. Indust	3,815.26	+13.79	+0.36	+1.63
D. J. Transp	1,468.54	-3.72	-0.25	-16.67
D. J. Util	174.47	-2.24	-1.27	-23.91
S&P 500	461.47	-0.88	-0.19	-1.07
S&P Indust	552.02	+1.15	+0.21	+2.19
NYSE Comp	252.30	-0.95	-0.38	-2.62
Nasdaq	764.67	+2.55	+0.33	-1.56
Amex	444.04	-4.00	-0.89	-6.94
Russell 2000	248.58	-0.80	-0.32	-3.87
Wilshire 5000	4,568.23	-12.45	-0.27	-1.92
Value Line	279.11	-2.03	-0.72	-5.48

## New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE				PERCENTAGE GAINERS				PERCENTAGE LOSERS			
Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.	Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.	Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.
RJR	258929	6 1/4	...	ICNPh	22 1/4	+1 1/2	109.4	SPSTm	28 1/2	-30 1/2	51.8
WalMt	213993	22 3/4	...	Unitn	24 1/4	+5 1/2	28.6	BrigSt	33 1/4	-32 1/2	49.4
GM	207433	37 3/4	...	RMITS	5	+1	25.0	MelnBnk	33 1/4	-19 1/2	36.6
TelMex	207322	50 1/4	...	Hilton	71 1/4	+13 1/2	23.9	SgnlApl	4 1/4	-1 1/4	20.8
Chryslr	203690	49	...	AcmeE	13 1/4	+2 1/2	19.3	Breed	35	-6	14.6
AT&T	189360	52 1/2	...	RobtHf s	26 1/4	+3 1/2	15.4	TrmMx	7	-1 1/2	13.9
Merck	145454	37 3/4	...	Coreln	10 1/4	+1 1/2	14.9	Breed	30 1/4	-4 1/2	13.0
Kmart	139365	14 1/2	...	MTT	8 1/4	+1 1/2	14.8	OwenM s	13 1/4	-2	12.8
FordM	125619	27 1/2	...	FrkElPub	20	+2 1/2	14.3	HiShear	5 1/2	-3/4	12.8
AmExp	123346	30 1/2	...	RacMtp	17 1/4	+2 1/2	14.1	StonEn n	13 1/4	-1 1/2	12.4
PhilM	122781	62 1/4	...	MunVstM n	10 1/4	+1 1/2	13.5	DutPCo	10 1/4	-1 1/2	12.4
Digital	111013	35	...	Digital	35	+4 1/2	13.4	StriCh	10 1/4	-1 1/2	12.2
GenEl s	104319	48 1/4	...	Terex	8 1/4	+1	12.9	ParaTrB	20 1/4	-27 1/2	12.2
Motorla s	100865	60 1/4	...	Imco	15 1/4	+1 1/2	12.5	Schwiz	8 1/4	-1 1/2	12.2
IBM	94721	73 1/4	...	NvAZ	11 1/4	+1 1/2	12.4	NatStl	14 1/4	-2	11.9

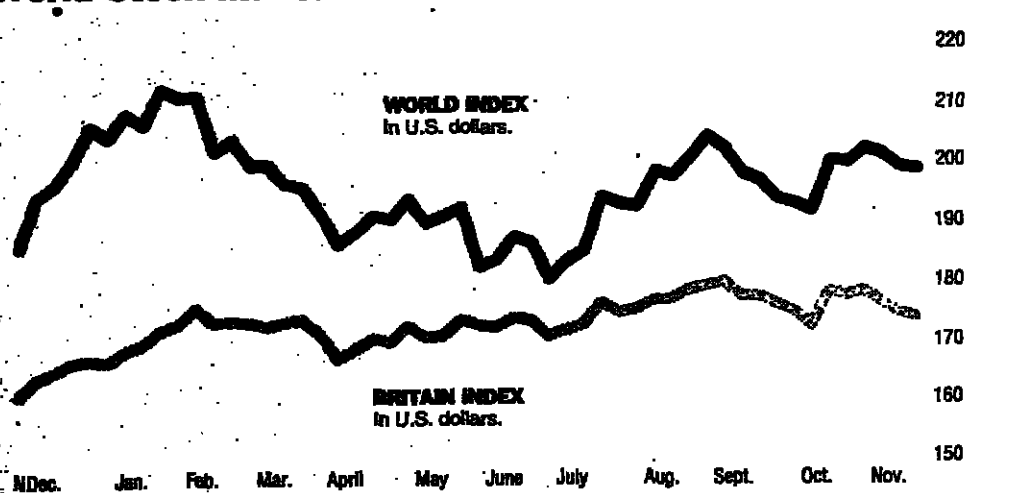
## Nasdaq

MOST ACTIVE				PERCENTAGE GAINERS				PERCENTAGE LOSERS			
Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.	Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.	Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.
TelCm A	249436	24 1/4	+1 1/2	KTel	5 1/4	+2 1/2	70.8	AmRdL pf	6 1/2	-4 1/2	40.9
Novell	208101	19 1/2	+1 1/2	Synargn	9 1/2	+3 1/2	70.0	Ernst	7 1/2	-4 1/2	38.4
Novell	193979	63 1/2	+3 1/2	Medstat	26 1/2	+10 1/4	63.1	Chipcom	43	-20 1/2	32.6
Cisco s	165717	34 1/2	+1 1/2	ZollMed	15 1/4	+5 1/2	63.7	CapGmDv	4	-1 1/2	28.9
MC	136132	21 1/2	...	NatGym wt	30 1/2	+10	48.8	Forstm	5	-2	28.6
Sybase s	126296	44	...	PatNIBk	5 1/4	+1 1/2	48.4	Speizman	4 1/2	-1 1/2	28.0
Micro s	118998	64 1/2	+1 1/2	Pachemint wt	7 1/2	+2 1/4	42.9	Metrolms	6 1/4	-2 1/4	25.5
Infrmx s	118895	29 1/2	+4 1/2	LarVd uts	8 1/2	+2 1/2	41.7	KahlerMgt wi	7 1/4	-2 1/4	25.2
Methanx	106197	13 1/2	-1 1/2	PaxCm wt	24	+7	41.2	SolPagGp un	47 1/2	-12 1/2	25.4
DellCpt	104664	46 1/2	+2 1/2	Intrfc	9 1/4	+2 1/2	37.7	CTEC	20 1/4	-6 1/2	24.8

## American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE				PERCENTAGE GAINERS				PERCENTAGE LOSERS			
Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.	Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.	Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.
ViacomVar rt	156719	1 1/4	+1/8	SBMInd	14 1/2	+7 1/2	91.9	AldRes	4	-1 1/4	23.8
Viacom B	65408	39 1/2	+1	EXB B	26 1/2	+12 1/2	83.6	Jaclyn	6 1/4	-1 1/2	20.6
XCL	32756	1	+1/8	HSHrTch n	12 1/2	+4 1/4	64.4	BarryRG s	19 1/2	-37 1/2	16.5
CableTelCm n	20608	6 1/2	+1/8	EXX A	26 1/2	+9 1/2	54.7	Hasting	22 1/4	-4 1/2	16.1
RoyalO	19886	3 1/4	-5/8	GnEmp	8 1/2	+2	30.2	IGC	7	-1 1/4	15.2

## World Stock Markets



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the FT Actuarial World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and NatWest Securities Ltd. in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and the Faculty of Actuaries.

Country	IN U.S. DOLLARS					IN LOCAL CURRENCY				
	Index	Week % Chg.	Week YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Dividend Yield	Index	YTD % Chg.	Exchange Rate to \$	YTD % Chg.	
Australia	168.56	-0.6	12	-0.2	16	3.90	148.08	-10.7	1.3187	11.7
Austria	177.33	-1.9	21	-4.1	19	1.14	143.22	-14.0	10.9375	11.5
Belgium	168.43	-1.4	18	2.3	11	4.21	131.16	-8.6	31.955	13.1
Britain	199.78	-0.2	9	-2.6	18	4.07	188.71	-8.2	0.6373	6.1
Canada	129.38	-1.6	19	-4.7	20	2.67	128.04	-1.7	1.3666	-3.1
Denmark	250.04	0.5	5	1.1	15	1.44	206.69	-9.5	6.078	11.8
Finland	181.48	-1.6	20	55.4	1	0.74	191.02	27.6	4.7535	21.8
France	167.26	-2.5	23	-4.9	21	3.06	140.03	-14.1	5.3372	10.6
Germany	142.58	-0.7	15	1.7	12	1.80	115.18	-9.0	1.5539	11.8
Hong Kong	380.55	0.2	6	-22.2	24	3.17	377.74	-22.2	7.7315	-0.1
Ireland	202.79	-0.7	13	9.5	7	3.48	184.78	-0.2	0.6467	9.7
Italy	77.89	-0.8	16	13.6	5	1.70	92.67	5.7	1593.1	7.5
Japan	155.15	-0.7	14	19.2	4	0.80	96.62	5.3	98.525	13.3
Malaysia	519.97	2.4	2	-12.1	22	1.63	513.86	-16.3	2.566	5.0
Mexico	1981.70	-4.0	24	-17.0	23	1.37	7480.07	-7.8	3.4523	-10.0
Netherlands	212.38	-1.3	17	6.7	10	3.42	168.79	-4.4	1.7413	11.5
New Zealand	75.27	-0.4	11	10.8	6	4.53	64.06	-0.6	1.6028	11.5
Norway	196.58	-0.1	7	9.4	8	1.82	181.51	-1.0	6.803	10.8
Singapore	393.16	0.9	3	7.0	9	1.59	268.19	-2.3	1.4692	9.5
South Africa	337.49	0.6	4	26.3	2	2.12	304.06	21.4	4.122	4.1
Spain	141.58	-0.3	10	1.6	13	4.22	138.78	-8.0	129.385	10.5
Sweden	241.88	2.4	1	23.2	3	1.52	282.50	8.3	7.3308	13.
Switzerland	162.67	-2.1	22	1.6	14	1.83	132.67	-10.0	1.3155	12.9
United States	188.73	-0.2	8	-0.6	17	2.90	188.73	-0.6		

## COMPOSITE INDEXES

	Index	Week % Chg.	Week YTD % Chg.	YTD Dividend Yield
Europe	171.35	-0.8	1.0	3.07
Europe/Pacific	167.35	-0.7	7.9	1.98
World	174.62	-0.5	4.4	2.30

Sources: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close.  
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## The Fed Wants to Make One Thing Perfectly Clear

So the Federal Reserve did raise rates again — by three-quarters of a point, the most since 1981. The right move? Many had doubts. Complaints ranged from the polite ("misreading the American economy," "extraordinarily aggressive") to the less polite (the Fed "is coming down on the side of the bloody bondholders"). After all, the latest reading on consumer prices showed just a 0.1 percent rise. But economists, it seems, have this odd formula that equates "full employment" with a 6 percent jobless rate. Anything less (it's now 5.8 percent) means we're "running out of workers." Put another way: workers get this funny idea that there are plenty of jobs around, and (gasps!) demand more pay. The result: demon inflation. The short view, of course, would dictate putting people to work. The Fed's taking the long view — correctly, one hopes.

## Global Thinking on Pollution

In many ways, Americans can float above the world's problems. Famine and genocide don't interrupt the backyard barbecue. When it comes to pollution, though, no nation is an island. This truth was much in evidence in a deal last week in which two utilities — Niagara Mohawk and Arizona Public Service — agreed to a swap involving the right to pollute. This "market" approach, though distasteful to those who feel people should tidy up their own nests, is much in favor these days. But this deal has a new twist: a utility will "donate" pollution credits, essentially retiring them, and use the tax break to experiment with cutting emissions in places like China and Russia. Those nations are so far behind on pollution controls that they offer cheap cleanup opportunities.

## In Thin Air, Can It Be Libel?

Aha! Did the wizards who thought up the Internet think of this one? Yes, all this instant gratification is great — you hurt words into a place called cyberspace (take a left at "Star Trek"), and instantly people everywhere can read them. But can you slander someone with impunity? Does all accountability vanish? These are not, alas, hypothetical questions, for Prodigy has been sued for libel because someone posted a message accusing the investment firm Stratton Oakmont of criminal activity. Lawyers don't know what to make of it, for these are uncharted legal waters. How, after all, can you monitor instant communication? Prodigy agreed in court last week to try to track down the culprit, but the larger problem remains.



## Miracle on, Uh, Main Street?

Now here's a catchy plot: a Santa who swears he's the real thing, working at a department store that parades giant animal balloons through Manhattan. The store's name, of course, is... C. F. Cole. Huh? Yes, it's "Miracle on 34th Street," the '94 model (it opened on Friday). So why did Macy's sit this one out? The Macy's party line: the original 1947 film is "a one-of-a-kind classic." Another possibility: a subplot about the store's financial problems hit too close to a nerve. Now, of course, Macy's loses both ways: the film will inevitably remind audiences of Macy's woes, but Macy's doesn't get all that publicity.

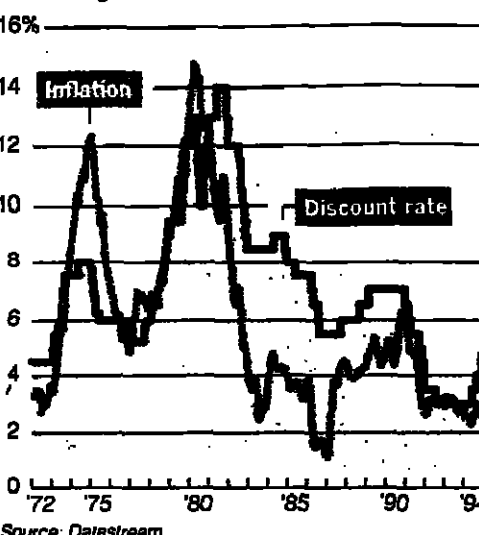
## World Markets/Richard W. Stevenson

## Weighing Murdoch's British TV Venture

LONDON During the last decade, Rupert Murdoch has shifted his emphasis from the newspaper business to television and entertainment. In the United States he is best known as the owner of Twentieth Century Fox and the Fox television network. But he has also built or bought television properties in Europe, Asia and Latin America, arguably giving him greater global reach and influence than any other executive in the electronic media industry. Now investors have their first chance to place a direct bet on one of Mr. Murdoch's largest television ventures, British Sky Broadcasting, a satellite-delivered television service that is the main alternative to Britain's four broadcast networks. Mr. Murdoch's News Corporation, which owns 50 percent of B Sky B, and his partners in the venture issued a prospectus last week offering 20 percent of the company to the public, with the shares to be listed on the London and New York Stock Exchanges.

As with most ventures involving Mr. Murdoch, this one has provoked sharply conflicting views among analysts. To some, it is a chance to get in on a fast-growing and profitable business that is well positioned to benefit from the rapid changes in Britain's broadcasting and entertainment industries. To others, it is a speculative play backed only by the hope that the company can maintain its recent impressive growth rates, despite intensifying competition from cable system operators and new technologies like video on demand.

The prospectus said the company and its investment advisers, led by Goldman, Sachs & Company, expected the offering to raise net proceeds of \$10 million pounds, or slightly less than \$1.3 billion. The offering price is expected to be 2.33 pounds a share to 2.68 pounds a share, or \$2.44 to \$2.81 an American depositary receipt, based on an exchange rate of \$1.605 to the pound. Each A.D.R. will represent six shares. The proceeds will go to reduce debt, in-

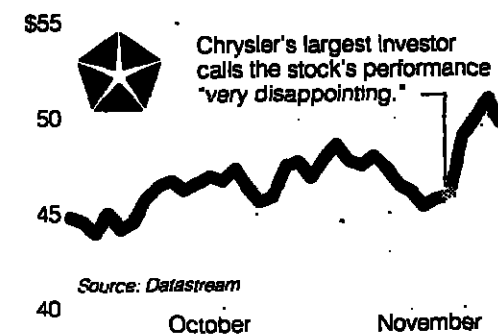


## In Indonesia, Trade Wins

President Clinton was safely on the far side of the world last week while Republicans were measuring the Capitol for drapes. And, as often happens abroad, he faced a tough choice at one stop — do you go for the big trade deals or harp on human rights? In Indonesia, he tried the latter, but proved less adept at the harp than the saxophone. For even while President Suharto listened, unflinching, to Mr. Clinton's human-rights warnings, their two nations announced \$40 billion in joint projects over the next decade. The bulk of that is a \$35 billion deal in which Exxon will help develop a huge offshore natural gas field. The rationale, as it was with China: more trade equals better treatment for citizens.

## Wishing Can Make It So

Wouldn't it be nice if you could just say, "That stock should be higher?" — and suddenly it was? Well, if you have enough shares, it seems, it's possible to do just that. Last week Kirk Kerkorian said that he would push Chrysler's board to raise the share price — by raising dividends, buying back shares, splitting the stock, whatever. And lo and behold, the stock jumped more than \$3 in a day, and the volume was huge. Mr. Kerkorian, who already owns 9 percent of Chrysler and is talking about buying more, saw his investment soar \$100 million in a day. Of course, Robert Eaton, Chrysler's chairman, has different ideas — he wants to sock some cash away for the next drizzly day in Detroit. But as Mr. Kerkorian pointed out, he has about 30 times as many shares as all the directors combined. In other words: He speaks, Chrysler listens.



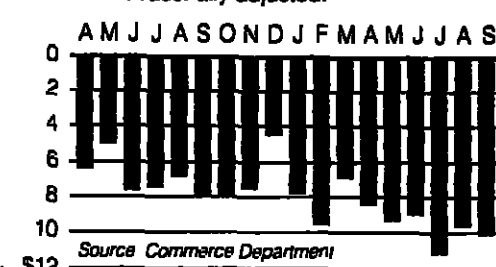
## Sony Flunks Hollywood 101

Well, Hollywood didn't become a subsidiary of Japan Inc. after all. It's old news that Sony really blew it when it bought Columbia and TriStar. For complex reasons, it had to pay a superstar's ransom — a surreal \$700 million — for the services of two mere humans, the producers Jon Peters and Peter Guber; both have since flown the coop. And many of its films — think, say, of "Last Action Hero" — have been disasters. Still, last week's news was a shocker: Sony took a \$2.7 billion write-off on the studios, for a \$3.2 billion quarterly loss — one of the biggest ever for a Japanese company. The explanation seems to be that such "trophy" acquisitions were just too far afield from what Sony knew best. A costly lesson in Hollywood economics.

## A Spendthrift Economy

As one economist put it, "We're still an economy spending more than we're producing." The result, of course, is that America's trade deficit keeps growing — last week came word that with imports rising and exports easing, that gap hit \$10.1 billion in September. One surprise, though, was that the deficit with Japan — normally the core of the problem — actually shrank. And it shrank with Western Europe, too. But the deficit with China surged 8 percent, to a record \$3.5 billion.

The deficit, or excess of imports over exports, in billions. Seasonally adjusted.



## Pickup Safety: G.M. Strikes Back

The battle rages on over those G.M. pickups whose fuel tanks do/don't (pick one) turn them into death traps. Transportation Secretary Peña says the six million trucks — sold from 1973 to 1987 — pose unreasonable fire risks, that General Motors put "sales ahead of safety." But last week G.M. filed suit to stop his attacks, saying the Government was indulging in "retroactive rule making." Since the trucks met the safety standards of the time, the auto maker argued, they could not be called unsafe now. That's a point. But Transportation officials countered that actual safety, not rote standards, is the proper yardstick. That's a point, too. So stay tuned. Hearings are set for Dec. 6, unless G.M. heads them off.

## Art Deco. Gd Loc. Nice Vus.

Rockefeller Center looks so timeless, it's such a bedrock of the Midtown landscape, that it's startling to discover what a mess its finances are. It used to be simple: the Rockefeller family owned it. But five years ago the family shocked the Daughters of American Ownership by selling control to a Japanese company called Mitsubishi Estate. The family scored a triumph of the "sell high" philosophy — it got \$1.4 billion for 80 percent of a building that, in a weak market, is now worth a paltry billion. And that's the problem. The mortgage is \$1.3 billion, rents are down, the complex is losing money — and the owner might default on that mortgage.

## Currency

	Last Week	Prior Week	Year Ago
<b>Japanese Yen</b> per Dollar	98.59	97.73	108.50
<b>German Mark</b> per Dollar	1.5544	1.5313	1.7140
<b>Canadian Dollar</b> per U.S. Dollar	1.3674	1.3582	1.3288
<b>British Pound</b> U.S. Dollar per British Pound	1.5666	1.5963	1.4735
<b>Gold</b> Republic National Bank	\$384.20	\$385.20	\$378.00
Currency: Friday NY Close			



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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## Clear but Hypocritical

Overlook, for just a moment, the brutality of their ideas. Representative Newt Gingrich and his band of ideologues have enlivened U.S. politics — indeed, engaging the public in political discourse that is supposed to be at the core of democratic society. They ran on a platform that told Americans how they would transform society by, in part, ripping away every strand of the social safety net. With government out of the way, they said, civil society would bloom. The Democrats — led, in the final weeks of the campaign, by President Clinton — held the contract up to voters for ridicule. The voters decisively picked sides.

One thing that makes this year's election remarkable is its aftermath. Mr. Gingrich and his deputy, Dick Armey of Texas, have continued to say what they believe and do what they said they would without excuses or temporizing. In comparison to the Democrats, their press conferences have been clear, if nothing else. When was the last time Speaker Tom Foley or the majority leader, Richard Gephardt, or the President gave voters a legislative vision undiluted by irreconcilable promises, one for each constituent?

Unfortunately, the contract about which Mr. Gingrich is so clear is full of benighted and mean-spirited ideas. The anti-government theme borders on the fetishistic. The tax cuts are reckless. The spending cuts are oblivious to need. Presumably the voters knew this before they voted and will now get some of what they chose, for better or worse.

That much cannot be said about 1992. President Clinton ran on one set of — we now know — lightly embraced ideas, packaged as New Democratic. They were then blended into mush with the help of Mr. Foley and Mr. Gephardt. In that sense, voters do not deserve the President they have.

Yet no commentary about the current scene can leave Mr. Gingrich draped in praise. Eventually, one must pierce the vigorous presentation and get at the ideas themselves. Here, the Republicans turn as hypocritical as the Democrats they thrust aside.

Take, for example, the proposal to cut taxes on capital gains — the profit that investors earn on the sale of, for example, bonds, stocks and real estate. The stated purpose is to give entrepreneurs greater

incentive to invest. Stated that way, even some liberals might be tempted to embrace the idea.

But look closely. The contract would cut taxes on the sale of stocks, bonds and real estate that investors already own. That could not possibly spur future investment. The proposal amounts to a huge windfall for affluent investors, but does little to ignite the "animal spirits" of entrepreneurs.

Republicans defend their plan by claiming it will "unlock" investors from old investments, channeling money into new, spiffier projects. This too makes little sense. If Joe decides, in the face of lower taxes, to sell his General Motors stock to Mary, the paper shuffling puts no money into the coffers of General Motors for investment in plant and equipment.

The Republicans could have solved the problem by limiting their tax cut to new investments. They did not — suggesting they are more interested in rewarding rich constituents than spurring the economy. At least when the Democrats go overboard in redistributing money, they more often do so on behalf of the needy instead of the already rewarded.

The contract also proposes boosting the nation's pathetic saving rate by opening up tax-subsidized retirement accounts to upper-income families. This too could be tolerated by voters interested in fairness if the actual proposal was not so skewed. It would allow wealthy workers to close down existing retirement accounts, pay taxes on the withdrawal and open up a new retirement account on which no taxes would be owed when cashed in at retirement.

This sneaky design would generate extra revenue in the next few years — when the budget laws require Congress to pay attention — and rob the Treasury of huge amounts later on when workers retire. For a party that preaches balanced budgets and fiscal prudence, the proposal borders on deceit. The contract also promises to balance the Federal budget — a \$700 billion deficit reduction that Republicans nonsensically declare would be zero.

On examination, the contract is at once bold and disheartening. The Republicans told voters they would cut government off at the knees and on this score they seem true to their word. Apparently it was too much to ask that they also live by their other declarations in favor of fiscal prudence and honest numbers.

## Why Proposition 187 Won't Work

Proposition 187, the California ballot initiative that deprives illegal immigrants of state services, has quickly been revealed as the inhumane headache its opponents promised it would be.

Already a host of examples of the new measure's inevitable consequences have shown how unlikely it is that its supporters really thought much before casting their votes.

Did they, for example, intend to deprive a child who is a legal resident of treatment for lead poisoning — because his illegal mother is too frightened to bring him to the clinic? One health worker has already encountered this situation, although the law has yet to go into effect.

Did Californians, when they voted to deny illegal immigrants non-emergency medical care, think about the consequences of having people go untreated for communicable diseases, thereby putting whole communities at risk? And did Californians really want the people who run child-welfare agencies to abandon children already abandoned by their parents, or to evict abused children now in foster care?

Health care workers, educators and other public servants are having to think about such issues now. That is one reason why the Los Angeles City Council and school district have vowed not to comply with 187; it is one reason why school principals around the state have rushed to reassure their pupils that they have no intention of playing enforcer for the Immigration and Naturalization Service; it is one reason why staffs at health clinics have vowed to give up state funding rather than turn away people in need.

Even the Chief of the Los Angeles police force,

Willie Williams, said his department was making no changes in its procedures. Lieut. Sergio Robledo, commander of the department's South Bureau, told The Los Angeles Times he had no intention of playing immigration cop: "I don't have enough detectives to check on my murders," he said, calling 187's directive to police to track down illegal aliens "administrative lunacy."

Proposition 187's worst provisions cannot go into effect for at least a week, thanks to Federal Judge Matthew Byrne Jr. He issued a temporary restraining order on Wednesday against instituting most of the new law. A state judge had already barred enforcement of the provision to deny schooling to illegal immigrants, which in any case was not scheduled to go into effect until January 1995.

The restraining orders came as no surprise. A 1982 Supreme Court decision, *Plyler v. Doe*, granted illegal immigrants the right to a free public education. The 5-to-4 decision did not find that public education was a constitutional right but cited the "lasting impact of its deprivation on the life of a child." By that measure, other provisions of Proposition 187 should also be discarded quickly. Surely deprivation of health care, food and shelter would fit this category as well.

Californians are learning that getting tough with illegal immigrants may sound wonderful in the abstract but it is heartbreaking, and tortuously complicated, in practice. Both because of its inhumanity and its impracticality, Proposition 187 invites massive civil disobedience. It is a bad law, which, if the courts continue to rule wisely, will never have to be instituted.

## The Meat Industry's Bad Beef

The American Meat Institute claims it is only trying to protect consumers from dangerously contaminated beef, but it has chosen an odd way to do so. The trade association, joined by six other food-industry and supermarket groups, has filed suit to stop the Agriculture Department from testing ground beef for *E. coli* bacteria that are responsible for as many as 20,000 illnesses and 500 deaths a year.

The contamination occurs when a cow's intestinal or fecal matter comes into contact with muscle meat during unsanitary slaughter. Ground beef poses a special hazard because the grinding process spreads the contamination throughout the product. Proper cooking will kill the bacteria, but many people have grown used to eating their beef rare or raw. Even a supposedly well-done hamburger may not be safe because of uneven temperatures within the patty as it is cooked.

A new random inspection program announced last month by the Agriculture Department calls for taking 5,000 samples of meat from plants and retail

stores each year and testing them for *E. coli* contamination. Michael Taylor, the Acting Under Secretary of Agriculture behind this worthy effort, acknowledges that the sample size is too small to guarantee the safety of all ground beef. Still, even on a relatively small scale, the threat of embarrassing publicity can provide a powerful incentive for the industry to take preventive measures.

The meat industry argues that the Agriculture Department lacks the power to regulate bacteria in meat. Yet the department can point to statutory provisions granting it broad authority to act against food products that are unhealthy or unwholesome.

Trying to give their obstructionist lawsuit a respectable veneer, the plaintiffs voice concern that the spot-inspection program could mislead consumers into relaxing their own safe handling and cooking practices. But surely a few well-publicized recalls would have just the opposite effect, alerting consumers to the threat of bacterial contamination. It is not consumers the lawsuit seeks to protect but the industry's right to sell tainted beef.

## What All Alzheimer's Disease Families Share

To the Editor:

There are approximately four million people with Alzheimer's disease in this country, and for every victim there is also a caregiver. I am one of those caregivers, and I believe I know how Nancy Reagan must feel now that her husband has been diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease. I know what to expect.

My husband, Tom, has Alzheimer's disease, and through great sacrifice and determination I have managed to keep him home. He has been living with this illness for more than 13 years, and as his wife and primary caregiver I not only have had the task of watching him lose every nu-

ance of skill that allowed him to be a productive human being, but I've had the task of watching the death of our relationship as well.

I sat there helplessly as he lost his ability to concentrate and form complete thoughts and finally lost speech entirely. I watched his body fail him as he fell into the shuffling gait so common to mid-stage Alzheimer's disease, and I mourned as his vibrant, expressive face froze into a vacant stare when he entered the last stage. He was a man who was fastidious in his appearance, who lost the ability to dress himself, and I shared his anxiety, fear and abhorrence as he became incontinent.

People don't like to think about those aspects of Alzheimer's disease. They think Alzheimer's is only about forgetting things.

But because Ronald Reagan was President, he won't end his days in a nursing home. He will be kept at home, modified for his needs to pace and wander as his illness progresses and to handle the needs hygiene will impose on his life. He will have aides to move, dress, feed and bathe him.

Unlike others whose husband or wife has Alzheimer's, Mrs. Reagan won't have to worry about spending down her funds so that her husband can become Medicaid-eligible, and she won't be forced to place him in a nursing home, unable to afford the help to keep him home. Most of us would like to keep our Alzheimer's loved ones home.

Ironically, as President, Mr. Reagan consigned funds for long-term care of the frail elderly to the bottom of his priorities list, and funds for Alzheimer's research were kept so small as to be ineffectual. Yet taxpayers will pay for most, if not all, the costs of Mr. Reagan's care, which will primarily be custodial.

Even more ironic, the former President's diagnosis might become the impetus to make the American public and Congress sit up and notice how devastating and threatening this illness is, because if it can happen to a man like Ronald Reagan, it can happen to any of us.

Though Mrs. Reagan faces the same ordeal as the rest of us Alzheimer's caregivers, she will be spared the financial impoverishment, the sleep deprivation, the isolation from friends and family, and the burden of the day-to-day care. BEVERLY BIGTREE MURPHY, Boulder, Colo., Nov. 13, 1994

The writer is editor of *CareConnections Newsletter*.

## Visit From the Muse of 'Glass Menagerie'

To the Editor:

Further on your Nov. 16 review of Tennessee Williams's "Glass Menagerie": How "self-dramatizing" really was that notorious mother we know as Amanda Wingfield?

Bill Gould, one of the play's original stage managers, once shared a revealing anecdote. Shortly after "Glass Menagerie" opened to rave reviews in Chicago, Tennessee Williams came backstage to alert the cast that his mother would arrive that weekend from St. Louis to see his play for the first time. He was aghast at how she might react to Laurette Taylor's devastating portrayal of, patently, herself.

Following that Saturday's matinee, the playwright's mother came backstage, all smiles and bangs. Mr. Gould recalls, and congratulated the company effusively. "Where do you suppose," she remarked in her ingenuous Southern falsetto, "my clever son gets his ideas for these extraordinary characters?" Whatever her other shortcomings,



ings, the playwright's mother was wise enough to put a bold face on things. JOHN MAXTONE-GRAHAM, New York, Nov. 16, 1994

The writer was stage manager for Tennessee Williams's "Night of the Iguana" on Broadway.

## This Country Needs A Guest Worker Plan

To the Editor:

Amid the distortions and emotional statements about the mass migrations of the world's rural peoples to urban areas, it was heartening to read a few sensible words from President Carlos Salinas de Gortari of Mexico (news article, Nov. 14). Mr. Salinas stated that the movement of millions of Mexicans "is inevitable, and it is better to order and regulate it than to confront it with administrative measures that are not going to stop it."

May I suggest we do as other countries in the Americas do? Allow workers to enter with a passport and pay taxes until they are finished — however long that might take. They could purchase insurance and accrue wealth and retirement benefits. When they finish, they go home.

If these workers abuse the hospitality of the host country by engaging in criminal activities, they can be deported. Dependents might join the wage earner, but all would keep their original citizenship. They would not have to give up their national identities to make money in the legal job market. JIM SCANLON, San Rafael, Calif., Nov. 14, 1994

## Latin American Roads

To the Editor:

A Nov. 12 Business Day article reports glowingly on privatization of public roads in Latin America. Tolls charged by the new owners cover construction, maintenance and interest costs, and the owners will add premiums to cover toll collection and make a profit.

A government would incur the same costs, but with no profit markup, and the tax costs would be less than the price of the tolls. What these "entrepreneurs" are engaged in is highway robbery. ART HILGART, Kalamazoo, Mich., Nov. 14, 1994

## Let's Recognize the Alarming Disappearance of Unskilled Jobs

To the Editor:

Notwithstanding the results of the election, it is disappointing that neither party has addressed the core issue of our time: How can you have a stable, safe society when the labor of a large and increasing segment of society is not needed?

The real meaning of the "deindustrialization" of the formerly "industrialized" societies is that there are no more jobs for those who are not highly educated or entrepreneurial.

Economic productivity has created a large, permanent class of those whom society cannot use and does not respect. We have marginalized those who would once have been productive factory workers and agricultural workers. These people have no stake in the larger society, and no prospects of getting one.

Further economic forces are now marginalizing portions of the middle class, as corporations have discovered they no longer need the labor of this segment of society either. The results will not be pleasant.

The Democratic Party, with its traditional working-class orienta-

tion, seems to sense this issue, but can never quite bring itself to address it openly and creatively.

The Republican Party recognizes the chaotic results of this change in the economic clause of the social contract, but misinterprets the issue as moral, rather than economic. Given the traditional business constituency of the Republicans, it is surprising that they seem not to reason that domestic markets will shrink as fewer people work.

It should not take much imagination to see that we are experimenting with a society in a state of flux, experiencing something new, and that so far our response has been mired in the past. SETH ULLMAN, Brooklyn, Nov. 15, 1994

## G.O.P. and Redistricting

To the Editor:

Re your Nov. 13 news article on racial redistricting's impact on the election: Any notion that the Republican Party supports minority voting rights, as its former chief counsel suggests, borders on hypocrisy.

The "frauds" in Newt Gingrich's Contract With America that are listed by Bob Herbert in his Nov. 13 column will further erode support for minority groups.

Republicans supported the creation of majority African-American and Latino legislative districts only when it helped create better neighboring districts for G.O.P. candidates. There was never any evidence of advancing minority interests. Despite the former Republican counsel's assertion that his party would be "nuts" to oppose these districts, the record differs.

The Republican National Committee sought to undo North Carolina's new African-American majority Congressional districts in the Shaw v. Reno case. Texas Republicans are behind challenges to that state's minority Congressional districts.

We're also seeing the limited Congressional vote of Eleanor Holmes Norton, the District of Columbia delegate, threatened. This is only the beginning. JEFFREY M. WICE, Washington, Nov. 14, 1994

The writer is a lawyer.

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## In America

BOB HERBERT

## No G.O.P. Imitations, Please

Representative Charles Schumer put it best: The Democrats created a vacuum and the Republicans filled it. Mr. Schumer, a Democrat from Brooklyn, said last week: "Any Democrat who wants to revitalize the party has to start from the basic premise that while there were lots of other factors, the Democratic Party was ultimately to blame for the election fiasco. Yes, the Republicans were nasty. Yes, right-wing talk radio emphasized the negative. But those kinds of things can only succeed when there's a vacuum, and we created the vacuum."

The vacuum formed when Democratic politicians, for whatever reasons, became estranged from their base. That base, for decades, has been made up primarily of ordinary working men and women — decent people struggling to pay the rent or the mortgage, to raise their families in a reasonably safe and comfortable environment, to get their sons and daughters through school.

In Mr. Schumer's words, "We lost sight of the average American."

This suddenly seems obvious to almost everyone. But there are right ways and wrong ways to reclaim the hearts of working men and women. And one of the wrong ways is to define the so-called average American too narrowly.

Nearly every post-election analysis points out that 62 percent of white males voted Republican. There is general agreement that the Democratic Party has to get a substantial number of those voters back. With that in mind, groups like the Democratic Leadership Council are aggressively urging Democrats (and especially President Clinton) to turch to the right.

This is good advice for those Democrats who survived the Nov. 8 debacle but still would like to commit suicide. Whether the Democrats know it or not, voters are not clamoring for imitation Republicans. They can have the real thing. It should be recalled that the D.L.C., with its cynical cadre of high-tech pollsters and analysts, gave us Mr. Clinton in the first place, along with his carefully crafted, wishy-washy, please-all-people, stand-for-nothing message. The result is that it no longer matters which way Mr. Clinton turches. He has lurched too much already, which is how he has achieved the almost impossible feat of being perceived simultaneously as a stealth liberal and a closet conservative.

(Elizabeth Drew, in her book "On the Edge," tells how Mr. Clinton announced his variation of a Bush

## Democrats need honest answers for people's lives.

Administration program for urban enterprise zones. Clinton aides were worried that a high-profile event would look too "inner city," so the President announced the program in a telephone conference call with mayors.)

Instead of sneaking to the left or the right, instead of being ashamed of groups that have supported the party for decades, the Democrats could use a dose of authenticity. They need to discover an honest way to attract votes from white men while at the same time getting the support of working people who are African-American, who are women, who are Latino and Asian, who belong to labor unions, who are Jewish, etc.

This is not some wild, impossible task. "We have to build bridges," said Mr. Schumer. "There are some issues, like crime and jobs, where you can go into a middle-class white suburb and to an inner city, and when you talk to the average person in those places they will tell you the exact same thing."

"If you notice, in Newt's 'contract' there is not one mention of jobs. That's the number one thing that the 62 percent of white male voters are concerned about."

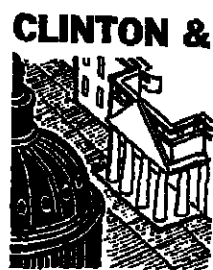
Mr. Schumer paused. "You know," he said, "I think that ultimately people are upset because for the first time in American history it is not a given that their lives will improve, that the trend is upward, and that almost certainly your children will be better off than you have been."

"What they want is to see government as a force relevant to their lives, making their lives better. They'd like to see that, but they don't. We have to change that."

To forge a comeback, the Democrats have to do something real about issues like employment and crime, issues that everyone cares about. If they can do that, the voters will come flocking from the right and the left.

If not, they will endure a long stay in the lonely regions of powerlessness and irrelevance. □

By Suzanne Garment



## CLINTON &amp; CONGRESS

An occasional series.

stoked popular anti-government disgust and cynically rode it to power. But do not worry, they say: he will come a cropper, because (a) his right-wing agenda will provoke voter revulsion or (b) hard realities will force him into the usual compromises and provoke... et cetera.

Don't count on it. Newt Gingrich does not have a history of falling into other people's traps. He has risen through skill in setting his own.

In 1988, Mr. Gingrich was still known in the House mainly as a semi-controlled lunatic. But he got a

Suzanne Garment, resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, is author of "Scandal: The Culture of Mistrust in American Politics."

WASHINGTON

The story line on Newt Gingrich, Speaker-apparent of the House of Representatives, is shaping up nicely. According to repelled cognoscenti, Neutron Newt demagogically

stoked popular anti-government disgust and cynically rode it to power. But do not worry, they say: he will come a cropper, because (a) his right-wing agenda will provoke voter revulsion or (b) hard realities will force him into the usual compromises and provoke... et cetera.

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big credibility boost when his attacks on Speaker Jim Wright ignited a House ethics investigation that led to Mr. Wright's resignation. These attacks could not have been more deliberately planned.

As Mr. Gingrich himself said at the time, one of his goals was to rid Republicans of their post-Watergate stigma as the party of corruption. This was no small task, but he had three theories to guide him:

• Because the welfare state spawned vast subsidy-granting, discretion-wielding bureaucracies, corruption must be endemic to it.

• House Democrats, being the most entrenched part of the Government, must be getting a big piece of the spoils.

• With the rise of the new left in the 1960's, liberalism had changed. The old liberals thought of themselves as tolerant cosmopolitans; their successors saw politics as a secular religion, prescribing damnation for ideological evildoers but absolution for the faithful.

This zealotry gave Mr. Gingrich an opening. He would apply to Demo-

crats the same standards they had applied to Republicans. He could look ethically consistent yet gain a politically satisfying result.

Newt Gingrich has always been — well, an enthusiast. But he did not get where he is through uncontrolled expressions of bile. His successful pursuit of Jim Wright — no less than the fiery tone of his campaign speeches — was based on rational judgments about the strategy appropriate to the permanent high dudgeon of contemporary politics. Mr. Gingrich thought the "secular religion" he saw on the left could be successfully opposed only by equally moralistic rhetoric.

In that sense, the phrase "Speaker Gingrich" has to be somebody's worst nightmare — the spirit of the 60's transformed into a giant boomerang that has just caught you around the throat.

It would be bad news if the Republicans tried to govern the nation solely through that kind of confrontation. So far, though, Mr. Gingrich has not given much indication that he intends to. True, some remarks make

him sound like the embodiment of nyah-nyah-nyah-nyah conservatism, which in large amounts could make the public nervous. And he has been administratively bumptious, what with his warning that departing Democrats should not destroy official documents.

But the big talk is necessary to mobilize constituencies that the new Speaker will need in coming months. Besides, after 40 years in the desert, the Republicans — like the Israelites — could be forgiven for acting a little aggressive. It is more telling that the "Contract With America" does not promise much on swampy questions of religion and politics. Only school prayer, safest and least objectionable of these issues, is on Mr. Gingrich's early list of priorities.

He may not have to make as many compromises as some people expect; proposals that were long shots before Election Day have a way of looking different the morning after an electoral upheaval. Just as important, Mr. Gingrich's personality doesn't incline him to political suicide: he knows the difference between what works and what doesn't.

Politics and history have a habit of tripping up even the shrewdest politicians with dangers they never expected. But no one will win much money betting on Speaker Gingrich to succumb to the obvious ones. □

## Newt's Law

## The man knows pitfalls (he's dug plenty).

## It Costs More To Save Energy

By Herbert Inhaber and Harry Saunders

For decades, Americans have unquestioningly viewed energy conservation as a laudable goal, and governments and utilities have urged us to curb our supposed wastefulness. We are told that turning off unneeded lights and driving fuel-efficient cars cuts national energy consumption, saves resources for future generations and reduces our dependence on foreign oil producers. But all of these arguments, seemingly self-evident, wither under economic and historical scrutiny.

Friedrich von Hayek, a founder of modern economic thought, noted that conservation can sometimes do more harm than good. "Industrial development would have been greatly retarded if 60 or 80 years ago the warnings of conservationists about the threatened exhaustion of the supply of coal had been heeded," he wrote in 1960. "The internal combustion engine would never have been revolutionized transport if its use had been limited to the known supplies of oil."

Many contemporary economists agree. "It is ridiculous to say that conservation has the welfare of the future particularly in mind," says Anthony Scott of the University of British Columbia; all it means is that in the future there will be more raw materials and fewer "capital goods."

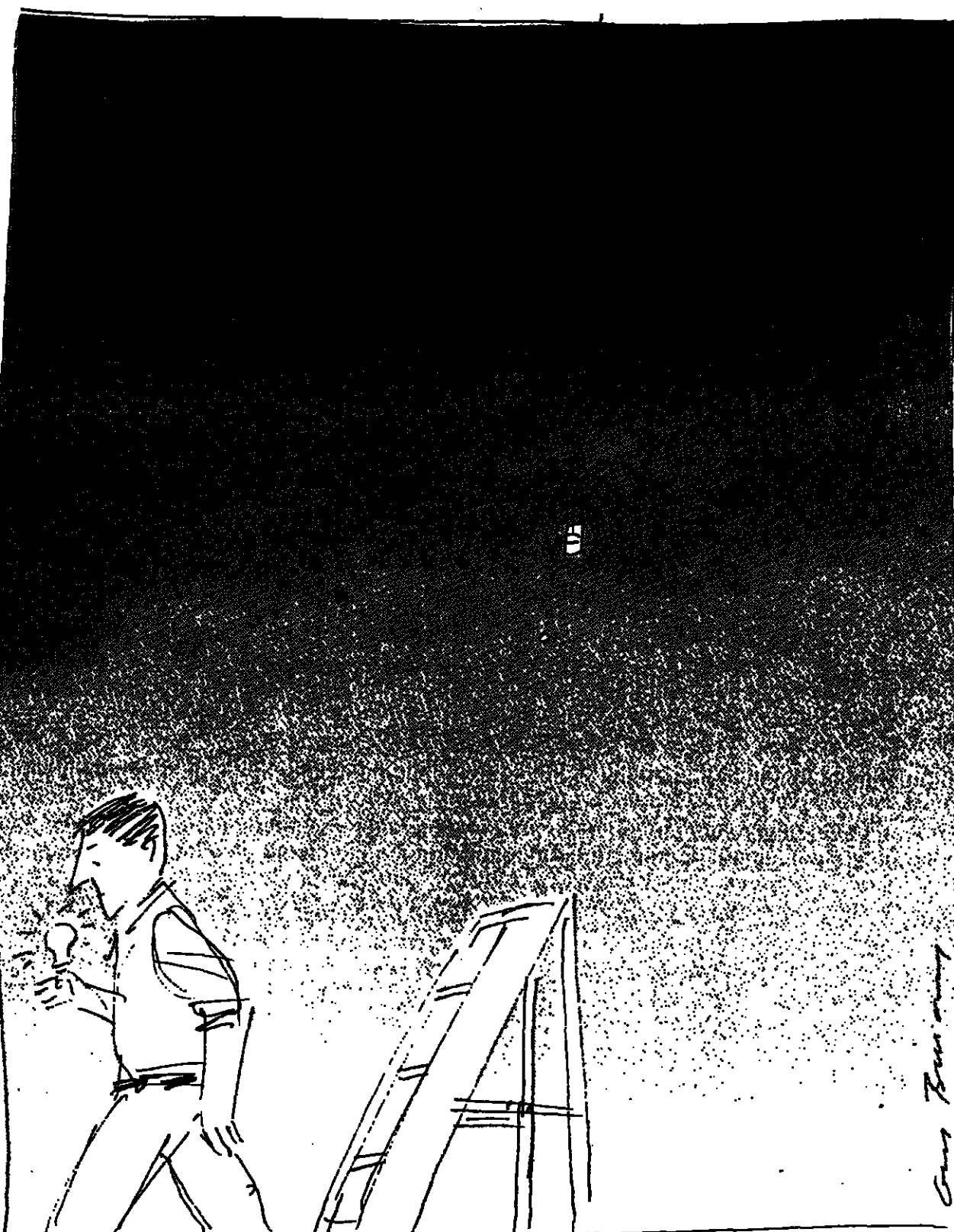
Furthermore, as Hayek noted, reserves of natural resources are usually found to meet the demands of new technology. When the Bessemer process for creating steel was invented in the mid-19th century, most people assumed that world supplies of iron ore were minimal. But soon after the new furnace revolutionized steel-making, huge new iron mines were opened up. Likewise, some pioneers of nuclear power believed that reactors could never be much more than toys, given that uranium reserves were apparently limited to the Belgian Congo. But as the demand for uranium grew, new sources were discovered in Canada, the U.S., Australia and elsewhere.

Another major argument for conservation holds that we must avoid dependency on foreign sources like OPEC. Relying on other nations is risky, this reasoning goes, because in times of international crisis the supplies of energy might be restricted, as oil was in 1973. Thus we are better off depending on domestic production and cutting down on energy use.

Economists call this strategy autarky, and most consider it a serious waste of resources. To take a fanciful example, imagine the benefits to Alaska if the state could grow enough bananas to achieve independence from unstable banana-growing nations. Bananas could, after all, be grown in Arctic greenhouses. But people do not grow bananas in Alaska — it would be too expensive to rig all the necessary lamps and greenhouses, and the power needed to illuminate the plants would decrease energy independence even as banana independence increased.

Likewise, beginning in the 1940's,

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the U.S. sought to insure energy independence by using a complex system of quotas and allocations to restrict foreign supplies of oil. But that system only raised prices and increased the depletion of U.S. resources, and eventually had to be abandoned after the 1973 oil crisis.

What about the argument that without conservation we are at the mercy of OPEC? OPEC's long-term interest is in supplying oil, not in cutting it off. To avoid damage from brief disruptions of supply, we need only do some strategic stockpiling. The expense of stockpiling would be minimal compared to the cost of depending solely on domestic oil.

Perhaps the most concerted government conservation effort has been demand-side management. Under this strategy, utilities encourage conservation by selling their customers energy-efficient light bulbs below cost, subsidizing home insulation and conducting home inspections to track down energy losses. Many states have required such measures.

Indeed, a new word, "negenergy," has been coined to denote the power they supposedly save. Some conservationists treat negenergy as a source of energy — listing it on the same side of the balance sheet as existing reserves of oil, coal, nuclear power and electricity. Does this wonderful new world truly exist? Not really. "Oil companies do not have 'negagallon' programs," writes Paul Jaskow, an economist at M.I.T., "and

they do not view consumer opportunities to drive more fuel-efficient cars as 'supply sources' allowing them to produce less oil. My neighborhood supermarket doesn't have a 'negafood' program that pays me to eat less and doesn't see me going on a diet as a supply source."

The problems that public utilities have in applying demand-side management are compounded by free riders: people who will get reimbursed for something they would have done anyway to cut their fuel bills. As the first Federal payments for conservation were being considered in 1977, the Congressional Budget Office reported, "a large share of any tax credits would be a windfall payment to people who have already decided to add insulation."

Utility companies are adept at determining the number of energy-saving light bulbs sold and the square feet of insulation subsidized. But they find it difficult if not impossible to determine how much energy has been saved as a result. The problem stems not from inadequate measurement systems but from the illusory nature of conservation itself. While some people may indeed reduce their electricity consumption temporarily as a result of these programs, the overall use of electricity will increase.

Ultimately the concept of conservation may founder, as Daniel Khasz, an economist at San Jose State University, has pointed out, for the same reason that Marxism rose

and fell in the past hundred years. Marx made much of the vast increase in 19th-century industrial efficiency. He reasoned that if efficiency doubled, only half the workers previously needed would be required, throwing the other half out of work. If efficiency tripled, two-thirds of workers would have no jobs. Of course, although labor efficiency today is much greater than it was in the 19th century, the wholesale unemployment foreseen by Marx has not come about.

In the same way, in spite of ever-stricter conservation regulations, overall energy consumption refuses to drop toward the cellar. People always seem to find new uses for energy — hot tubs, floodlighting for their houses, central air-conditioning — most of which were unknown a generation ago.

Does this mean there is no reason to strive for energy efficiency? No, efficiency gains, even if they do not reduce overall demand, do stimulate increased economic activity. Conservation enables people — like the users of Watt's steam engine — to create new products and services, or more of the same products and services for people who previously could not afford them.

Conservation — properly understood — can be good for the economy. But it is much less useful than the conventional wisdom has it, and it is often applied in silly and counterproductive ways that can damage the economy. Switching off that unneeded light may one day provide some child with an extra bowl of rice. Just do not assume that it will reduce the world's consumption of energy. □

## Journal

FRANK RICH

## Blowing In the Wind

Of all the comebacks of Election '94, surely the strangest is the counterculture. Declared dead in the 1970's and finally laid to permanent rest at Woodstock II last summer, the counterculture was long ago annexed by a corporate culture that employs the Beatles' "Revolution" to hawk Nikes.

But now Newt Gingrich, echoing other Republican moralists like William Bennett and Dan Quayle, has brought the counterculture back — not for a reunion concert, alas, but as a scapegoat with flowers in its hair. Not only is the counterculture being held responsible for the excesses of Bill Clinton — a non-inhaling Fleetwood Mac fan, of all unlikely hippies — but for everything immoral, violent and sexually explicit in American culture today.

The prospect of turning back the cultural clock is scaring some in the arts and show business, who do not relish the prospect of a Perry Como "Duets" album and smell a whiff of McCarthyism in any cultural blame game. The Los Angeles Times wonders if a new G.O.P. era of movie censorship is at hand. The Washington Post reports that the networks, already terrified by a V-chip that might regulate violence in TV sets, now anticipate an S-chip regulating sex. And every liberal watchdog worries about the future of the National Endowment for the Arts and PBS, long branded by the Gingrich gang as countercultural perversion incarnate.

Having run against "Murphy Brown" and Robert Mapplethorpe and lost in '92, the emboldened Republicans of '94 now apparently feel they can run against the Stones — Rolling, Oliver, Sharon, whatever — with impunity in '96. Democrats can only hope they try. Republicans who rail against the counterculture at this late date are far more out of touch with the public than they think,

## Newt Gingrich, Terminator of the counterculture.

Sonny Bono's efforts to bring them up to speed notwithstanding. If a party championing smaller government now uses a big-government stick to beat up on culture, counter- or otherwise, it may end up maiming its own partisans.

Culture — high and low, good and bad, moral and sleazy — does not divide along party lines. Few would doubt that TV shows like "Melrose Place" and "Studs" epitomize what Mr. Gingrich vilifies in our culture, but who is responsible for them? Not the counterculture, but Fox, the network owned by Rupert Murdoch, publisher of The New York Post, one of the most conservative papers in the United States.

Who is the most successful purveyor of violent entertainment on the big screen? Arnold Schwarzenegger, another Republican. Who is the most vocal fan of Mick Jagger and Bruce Springsteen to emerge from the elections? George Pataki. By contrast, it was Janet Reno who tried to jawbone Hollywood to reduce film violence and Tipper Gore who led a battle against dirty rock lyrics.

The audience that consumes culture, whether at chamber-music concerts or multiplexes, also defies political stereotyping. Trying to illustrate the gulf between the Gingrich-Republican culture and the Democratic counterculture, a conservative Wall Street Journal editorialist last week seized upon the opposite poles of John Wayne movies and "Doonesbury." But instead of waiting for Wayne movies to resurface on cable or bidding time with "The Book of Virtues," much of that conservative crowd is joining its liberal neighbors in watching "Roseanne," "Interview With the Vampire" and other hit entertainments that parade single moms, homosexuals, mindless violence and other scourges of the Gingrich world view.

What politicians don't know about culture of all sorts could fill a "Ring" cycle. In the smartest book written from the inside about the American conservative movement, "Dead Right," David Frum recalls Ronald Reagan's affection for such kitsch as Remington bronzes and Jack Kemp's for "The Wizard of Oz" when he writes that "few intellectual movements have ever displayed so much philistinism so proudly." Is Bill Clinton, devotee of Kenny G, any better?

Instead of initiating a new round of culture wars, Republicans and Democrats alike might benefit by actually stopping to wade into the culture of 1994 and listen to what it is saying. A few hours spent contemplating the intensely moral American outlaws of "Pulp Fiction" might even help them understand why 63 percent of the country rejected both parties by electing not to vote. □



## MUSIC

# Bob Dylan's Children, Without the Sanctimony

BY STEPHEN HOLDEN

One of the many weirdo characters on Lyle Lovett's new album, "I Love Everybody," is an eccentric misanthrope who natters on about a gold tooth his grandmother left him when she died. He also claims he is keeping his aged uncle locked in a closet. Addressing the world at large, he says with defensive pride, "Look around and you will see! This world is full of creeps like me."

The album's other quirky narrators include a man who identifies with fat babies because "they have no pride" and another who is obsessed with penguins because "they are so sensitive."

At 37, Mr. Lovett is recognized as one of the most gifted inheritors of the singer-songwriter tradition that Bob Dylan virtually invented 30 years ago. But in the three decades that separate Mr. Dylan's reign as a pop-culture god and Mr. Lovett's ascendancy as an admired cult figure, the genre has undergone momentous shifts.

From a full-scale movement with its own pantheon of troubadours, the genre nearly died with the arrival of punk rock and the macho rock climate that regarded singer-songwriters as self-pitying wimps. Since then, it has struggled to reinvent itself. Today's younger singer-songwriters who have achieved a commercial foothold have done so largely without the support of rock radio and MTV. And they are generally more cautious and conservative than their utopian, barricade-storming forerunners.

The best of the second generation seem to have learned from the failures of their predecessors. The rampant solipsism that infused the music of the older generation is softer-edged and more qualified. Instead of using the imperious "I," which informed much of the best music of Mr. Dylan and his followers, younger songwriters often prefer to make their points through storytelling and dramatic monologues. The first person singular is more likely to be a fictional character who speaks ironically or through indirection.

Take Mr. Lovett. Although the fervent tenderness of his singing echoes that of the 1970's troubadour Jackson Browne, Mr. Lovett is neither a confessional romantic nor a liberal preacher. His narrators are not editorial alter egos but ordinary people observed with affectionate detachment. Mr. Lovett obviously cares about these self-described creeps, but he refuses to romanticize or judge them. His vignettes belong to a Southern storytelling tradition that has more in common with country yarn spinning than with urban folk broadsides.

A comparison of "I Love Everybody" with "Turbulent Indigo," the 17th solo album by Joni Mitchell, illustrates the genre's

shift away from 1970's-style solipsism. Ms. Mitchell, the most brilliant singer-songwriter to take up Mr. Dylan's bardic esthetic, was the queen of the stream-of-consciousness confession 20 years ago. Although she has largely abandoned blatant autobiography, she hasn't given up Dylanesque sermonizing.

"Sex Kills," one of the most ambitious songs on her new album, is a churning, apocalyptic mood piece whose lyric compiles a laundry list of global ills from gas leaks and oil spills to "the ulcerated ozone." The punch line, "And sex sells everything/ And sex kills," is delivered in a tone of towering sternness. With its rich and smoggy instrumental textures, the music is wonderfully atmospheric. But Ms. Mitchell's string of warnings is as original as a warmed-over television editorial.

Another Mitchell harangue, "Not to Blame," bluntly accuses an unidentified celebrity of beating up a girlfriend and driving another woman to suicide. "The Sire of Sorrow (Job's Sad Song)" is a pretentious quasi-biblical dialogue between the Old Testament character and a chorus of antagonists.

"Turbulent Indigo" is not all pontification. When Ms. Mitchell stops issuing warnings and pointing fingers, her lyrical genius still shines through. The album's best song, "Yvette in English," which she wrote with David Crosby, is a sparkling vignette about an American tourist's flirtation with a saucy Parisian in a Left Bank bistro. It has a sexy charm and deft, painterly imagery that recall Ms. Mitchell's best 1970's songs.

Ms. Mitchell's evolution from confessional poet into pundit says a lot about the limitations of the 1970's singer-songwriter ethos that Mr. Dylan handed down to performers like her, Paul Simon, Jackson Browne, James Taylor, Carly Simon, Laura Nyro, Cat Stevens, John Denver, Janis Ian and Don McLean along with Neil Young, Van Morrison and Bruce Springsteen in their softer modes. That esthetic fused Beat literature, confessional poetry and folk-music broadsides into a new bardic tradition based on the supposedly infinite and inexhaustible self. Spontaneous self-revelation driven by moral fervor was assumed to have elevated songwriting from a craft into an art, transforming lyrics into poetry, commentary into prophecy.

Musicians across the pop spectrum were liberated from exercising traditional craftsmanly restraints. Song forms became open ended, and orderly meter and rhyme dispensable. Imagery could be abstract and private. The singer became his or her own definitive interpreter on records in which the voice, song and instrumentation merged into an artistic statement. Mr. Dylan, who was far and away the most convincing per-



Then Bob Dylan, 1965—The genre's founding father transformed lyrics into poetry.

Now Tori Amos—The young singer-songwriter has ignited fires with her sex- and religion-charged lyrics.

former of his own tirades, set the riveting example of the songwriter as his own best interpreter, despite having a voice that was a crude, whining sneer.

As performers followed Mr. Dylan in releasing albums conceived and marketed as song cycles, it looked briefly as if Mr. Dylan had spawned a solo tradition that would dominate pop for decades to come. He and his followers were accepted by their baby-boomer peers as the successors to the Gershwins, Cole Porter, Irving Berlin, and Rodgers and Hammerstein. Instead of creating Broadway scores, this new pop elite created albums that everyone bought and talked about.

But their takeover of pop music largely fizzled. Performers who rode to glory on a surge of countercultural energy quickly used up a resource they had taken for granted—their youth. And times changed. The personal experiences of sex, drugs, rebellion and political engagement that informed their lyrics were quickly absorbed by the culture and lost their novelty.

As they used up their fuel of personal experience, the singer-songwriters began to sound redundant and self-righteous. Their own pop stardom became an unbreachable barrier to the raw experience that might provide them with new material.

The cult of personality that had liberated pop from moon-june-noon formulas now imprisoned those personalities. Following his 1975 masterpieces, "Blood on the Tracks" and "Desire," Mr. Dylan fell into confused self-parody. He was only 34. Ms. Mitchell's 1976 album, "Hejira," was the singer's final confessional statement before she retreated from anguished self-revelation into a more guarded stance.

Paul Simon, the only first-generation singer-songwriter to succeed completely in reinventing himself, did so by immersing himself in world music and building a new, more intuitive songwriting voice around African and Brazilian rhythms.

One who has succeeded better than most in keeping up a lively personal chronicle is Carly Simon, whose new album, "Letters Never Sent," is the latest chapter in a musical journal that now spans 23 years. In the centerpiece of this album of epistolary messages to unidentified friends, relatives and lovers, the singer addresses her dead mother and imagines a reunion in the afterlife.

Ms. Simon doesn't really confide very much. But here, as in earlier albums, her blunt, folk-pop songs and open-voiced delivery evoke a self-portrait of a privileged woman afflicted with ungovernable passions and crippling anxieties, veering between extremes of self-confidence and excruciating vulnerability.

More recently Tori Amos and Jeff Buckley have ignited cult fires. But Ms. Amos's sex- and religion-charged lyrics are often incoherent, and Mr. Buckley's keening romantic vocals are more compelling than his still-developing songwriting skills.

## Josh Redman: Archetype?

By PETER WATROUS

Whether he likes it or not, the saxophonist Josh Redman, at 25, is a walking treatise on the state of jazz. The three albums that he has released since March 1993 have sold nearly 250,000 copies, many times the number most jazz musicians sell in a lifetime. He tours as the leader of his own band, playing more than 250 dates a year, which at his age makes him an anomaly. And for somebody who clearly hasn't finished the maturation process that jazz requires, he has received an extraordinary amount of coverage in the mainstream news media.

Mr. Redman will appear on Dec. 2 at Town Hall. It is his biggest New York date so far and a show that moves him out of the clubs into the concert hall. He is in the process of creating a public personality that's more the province of pop stars than of jazz musicians. As jazz inches its way into the mainstream, through everything from television commercials to increased spending by major record companies, players who might never have had an audience outside jazz are finding themselves pop icons.

Young, articulate and personable, Redman is also representative of a new paradigm. When seen alongside the equally young, articulate and personable Wynton Marsalis, Mr. Redman's success suggests that a major change has occurred in the way jazz musicians are presenting themselves and how the audience wants to perceive them. The ideal of the wild-life, self-destructive musician, as exemplified by jazz men from Charlie Parker and Chet Baker to Eddie Condon and Miles Davis, has been replaced by a new archetype—the collegiate, hard-working student of the music. Instead of reaching transcendence through drugs or natural talent alone, the new breed gets there by toil and corporate marketing.

Yet Mr. Redman is also one of those extremely rare people, a natural musician, someone born to play the instrument. Playing seems as easy for him as having a conversation, and his lines halt and start with the same attention to grammar and articulation one would expect from a practiced orator. A saxophonist with a sure sense of swing and a style, he, at his most inspired, promises greatness. His improvisations, with their easy and logical structure, allow even the uninitiated to follow what he does. Mr. Redman chose not to attend music school and instead learned his craft from records,

books and other musicians; as a result, his playing has a pliability one doesn't often hear from graduates of the academy, who may be more accomplished technically but more orthodox in the way they solo.

At times, he can sound like a novice, gluing together a pastiche of the



Josh Redman

work of older saxophonists he admires, from Sonny Rollins to Dexter Gordon to Stanley Turrentine. Playing to an audience with soul honks and shouts, he undermines his own grace. Mr. Redman is gifted, but young, and his youth makes him predictable.

Mr. Redman grew up in Berkeley, Calif., the child of an interracial relationship. His father, the tenor saxophonist Dewey Redman, who lived in New York and was largely absent from his son's life, is black; his mother, Renee Shedroff, a dancer, is white. The two never married. He grew up Joshua Shedroff, changing his name to Redman after performing with his father in the summers during college; he grew tired of explaining why they had different names.

His mother occasionally worked as a librarian, but most of the time she was on welfare. He went to Berkeley High School, whose jazz program has produced several of the better young players now working in jazz, among them Craig Handy and Benny Green. He entered Harvard intent on becoming a doctor, then a lawyer. After graduating with honors in 1991, he was accepted by Yale Law School but opted to pursue a career in music instead. That year, he won the Thelonious Monk Institute's saxophone competition, which has traditionally led to a deal with a major record label. After spirited bidding among record companies, he signed with Warner Brothers. But music was only part of what record company executives saw in him.

Young jazz musicians entering the marketplace must now contend with

promotional strategies that are more akin to those used in pop music than they have been in decades. The maturation process in jazz, where young musicians spend an apprenticeship in other people's bands, is often ignored. Unsavory as it might seem, many of the reasons for Mr. Redman's success have nothing to do with his music, and he is too intelligent and self-aware not to know it. He has performed in places that he wouldn't have without his particular life story. A young female saxophonist from Iowa without a famous underground tenor saxophonist for a father and the same ability as Mr. Redman might still be practicing at home in the Fort Greene section of Brooklyn.

"My background is different," says Mr. Redman. "It made for a catch. The guy who went to Harvard, the would-be lawyer turned jazz musician." It allows people to write stories about me.

Mr. Redman was also at the right place at the right time. Jazz can sustain only a few high-profile young figures at a time, and rarely more than one on the same instrument. Fans with limited budgets for jazz seem to buy albums by musicians who have swept the polls and been heavily promoted by record companies. When Mr. Redman won the saxophone competition, there hadn't been a saxophonist on the receiving end of a major-label push since Branford Marsalis, in the early 1980's.

Race may have been another factor in Mr. Redman's ascent. Mr. Redman's multiracial makeup places him smack in the middle of the American experiment. He was brought up in a racially integrated environment and feels comfortable in both black and white cultures. Nonetheless he considers himself black and identifies more with that cultural heritage.

For Mr. Redman, the act of playing music so strongly identified with black culture has clarified for him the interaction between race and talent in jazz.

"Obviously, since my band is integrated, my attitude is that race means nothing," he says. "If you can play, you can play, period. Jazz is an African-American music, but what does that mean? You have to go to African-American churches? I didn't. Does it mean you renounce your white friends and hang out with only black people? I don't think so. It means that you have to immerse yourself in the jazz tradition. It means you have to learn the jazz idiom, which is by and large an African-American idiom. It means you have to work at all the nuances that have developed from that tradition."

## AFTER ALL...

BY MATT GAFFNEY / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

## ACROSS

- 1 Kitchen pest
- 6 John, in Wales
- 10 Any fellow
- 13 Some are historic
- 18 "L.A. Law" lawyer
- 19 Desperate
- 20 Pequod captain
- 22 "Fiddlers!"
- 23 OY
- 26 Winged
- 27 Have — at
- 28 Sulking fit
- 29 Newel shapers
- 30 Dugout
- 31 Newspaper editor Charles Anderson
- 33 Class that uses 29-Across
- 36 Marks out
- 37 1990 movie "—! Tie Me Down!"
- 39 Hill and namesakes
- 41 More current
- 43 Word with Band or Farm
- 44 Followers
- 45 AY
- 47 Like some vins
- 49 "Rhinosceros" playwright
- 50 Food flavor
- 52 Custard base
- 55 Menacing
- 58 Like Mozart
- 60 Way to go
- 62 Blew in, so to speak
- 63 Candy brand
- 64 "— life!"
- 65 Pampered
- 67 One at Orly
- 68 EN
- 71 Itinerary portion
- 72 They're plucked
- 74 Selene's counterpart
- 75 Sight Fr.
- 76 1989 Literature Nobel
- 77 Extend
- 78 Walker of football
- 80 Bacchus attendant
- 81 Clarifying words
- 82 Palindromic time
- 83 Not as timely
- 85 "Over my dead body!"
- 87 EY
- 91 Jazz theme
- 94 Wheat stalk part
- 95 Skiwear
- 96 Not so strict
- 97 Recruits
- 99 — pump
- 100 Literary homophone for 99-Across
- 102 70's tennis champ Smith
- 103 Burning
- 104 Red and silver, e.g.
- 107 N.Y.S.E. listing
- 109 Swedish cents
- 110 British cents
- 111 OT
- 115 In the beaver state?
- 116 Pinlike
- 117 Milton's "sweetest nymph"
- 118 Survive
- 119 Habit
- 120 Literary monogram
- 121 Drudge
- 122 Shaw contemporary
- DOWN
- 1 Park shelters
- 2 Stew seasoning
- 3 Prospero's brother
- 4 McLean, Va., gp.
- 5 Teen movie of 1965
- 6 Mythologist Hamilton
- 7 Trader of note
- 8 Fortify
- 9 Screenwriter Jordan of "The Crying Game"
- 10 One who's up
- 11 Casual noes
- 12 Venture
- 13 Leeway
- 14 AH
- 15 Scottish chieftains
- 16 Leave the kitchen
- 17 Important TV period
- 21 "Hush!"
- 24 Moderate
- 25 Graph lines
- 32 Costume
- 34 It fits all
- 35 60's catchword
- 38 Social reformer Wells
- 40 "Hey there!"
- 42 Motorist's goof
- 43 Having the stuff
- 46 Thermometers measure them
- 48 Square
- 50 Vocal opponent
- 51 Caesarean section?
- 53 Esophagus
- 54 Stalwart
- 55 Gear type
- 56 "O" follower
- 57 What former foes make
- 59 Some Plymouths
- 61 Literary award
- 63 Pizza
- 65 Hopeful plea
- 66 "— to Psyche"
- 68 "Death Be Not Proud" poet
- 69 Singer Laine
- 70 "Gray's Anatomy" feature
- 73 Y

## ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

TAROT'S ELK PHOTUSHERS  
APOLOGE NEUTRON NOXITY  
REELER RANDONDS DUFFY  
ASSEMBLES TOGETHER  
SIS TRY IRIDIO  
PRISE THESEA FESSEDUP  
LONERS MURMUR THRESH  
OLDANTIQUESE LESE AVID  
OLIV OMUS STEAM TIAS  
NEW ANKA ABUNST GEO  
SRL NEWINNOVATION LAD  
DAY ONETIDA ARAP EVE  
ROUE MOths ITIS ANON  
ALAN EDER DISECTINTWO  
RELOAN SUPINE STYLET  
ASPIRANT ESTERS SAVIRE  
ERATO ANN OAR  
ARR BASICFUNDAMENTALS  
RESTIR DIETERS SOIREE  
IDOLISM ENCHANT TALENT  
DONUTS SGT LOS SUBASH



# A woman's place: On the board of directors

LAW REPORT  
ASHER FELIX LANDAU

In the Supreme Court, sitting as a High Court of Justice, before Justices Elyahu Mazza, Ya'acov Kedmi and Yitzhak Zamir, in the matter of the Israel Women's Network, petitioner, versus the government, the Ports and Railways Authority, the Oil Refineries Ltd., and others, respondents (H.C. 453/94).

THE Government Companies Law (Amendment No. 6) (Appointments) of 1993 added two new sections, 18(A) and 60(A), to the original Law of 1975.

Section 18(A) provides that both sexes shall be adequately represented on boards of directors of government companies and, "until such representation can be achieved," ministers shall, "as far as circumstances permit," appoint directors of that sex which is not adequately represented.

Section 60(A) also applies section 18(A) to appointments by the government or a minister, or which are based on their recommendation or confirmation, to the boards of directors of corporate bodies established by law.

The lobby petitioned the Supreme Court, sitting as a High Court of Justice, to set aside the appointment of Amir Hayek to the board of directors of the Ports and Railways Authority, and of Doron Kashuv and Ya'acov Wagner to the board of the refinery. No woman sits on either board.

JUSTICE MAZZA, delivering the first judgment of the court, emphasized that no criticism had been leveled against the capabilities of the new appointees, whose suitability was not in question. The lobby had submitted only that in view of section 18(A), the appointments were unlawful and should be set aside.

The government, he continued, had appointed Hayek, a member of the Industry and Commerce Ministry, on the recommendation of the transport minister. That minister had relied on the advice of the industry and trade minister.

The industry and trade minister confirmed the lobby's averment that there were also a number of female employees who could have filled the vacant position. However, he emphasized the proviso in section 18(A), "as far as circumstances permit," and pointed out that Hayek's wide and special experience, which he detailed, made him the best candidate for the directorate. He therefore submitted that the nomination was lawful.

Similarly, the ministers of energy and infrastructure, and finance, had appointed Kashuv and Wagner to the refineries board on the basis of their qualifications and experience. Both ministers stated they had considered section 18(A) above, and had tried to find suitable female candidates for the vacant positions.

A list of suitable female candidates for such an office prepared for the energy minister was not yet available when the appointments were made. The finance minister had also sought suitable candidates among his staff and in lists compiled by various women's organizations.

Respondents' counsel had submitted, Justice Mazza continued, that since section 18(A) specifically

ly laid down "as far as circumstances permit," it imposed on the authorities only a general directive to include women in their considerations. Therefore, since the appointments had been made on relevant material grounds, they were lawful.

Counsel also argued that since section 18(A) introduced novel provisions, the appointments should not be set aside even if the section had not been fully observed. They also mentioned the possible damage that would be caused to the appointees.

The IWN conceded, Justice Mazza said, that the obligation imposed by the section was conditional upon what the "circumstances permit," but there were no other limitations.

There were no female directors on either of the boards, and the authorities were obliged to appoint some women until their adequate representation, in the words of the section, "can be achieved." This had not been done, and the appointments were clearly unlawful.

JUSTICE MAZZA then recited in some detail the legislative history of section 18. It was not aimed at reinforcing existing legislation guaranteeing equality of women's rights, but at creating a new norm. Of some 1,800 directors of government companies, only 35 were women. The Knesset, faced with the alternatives of fixing a minimum number of female directors on boards or creating the norm of "affirmative action" to remedy the grave injustice now existing, chose the latter course.

He emphasized that the duty of the authorities to achieve an adequate representation of women was immediate. The demands of section 18 were to be observed in every case in which a director was to be appointed.

Citing numerous precedents and legal writings, Justice Mazza then analyzed in some depth the underlying principles of affirmative action recognized in the US, Canada, Italy and Australia.

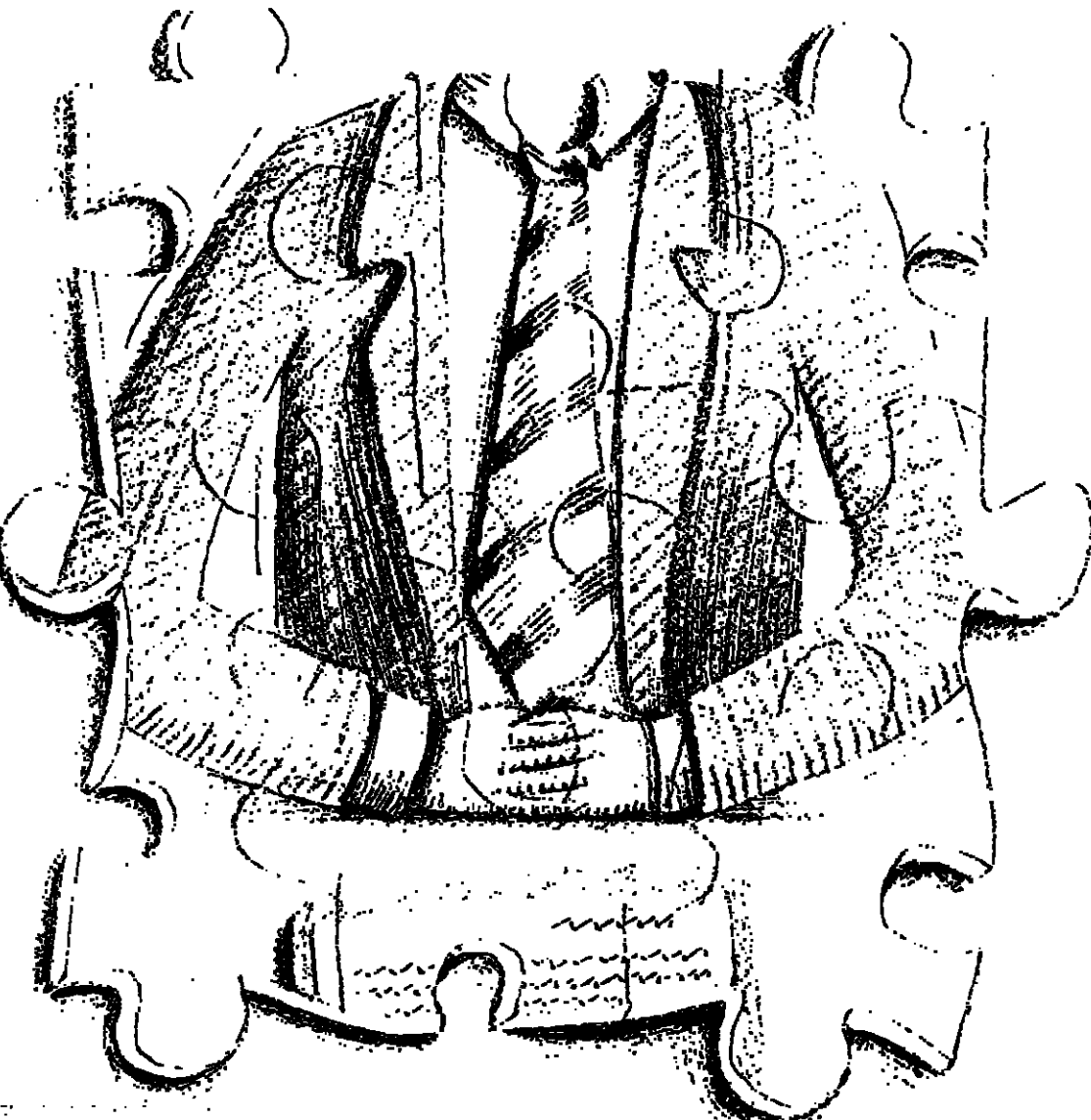
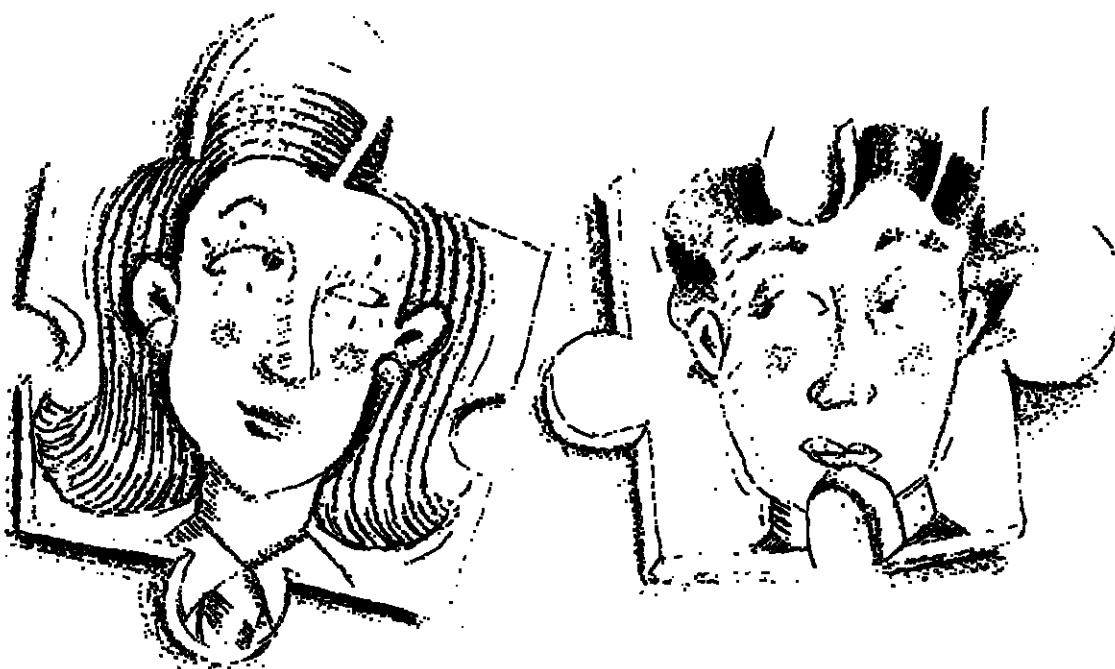
The law clearly laid down equality between the sexes. However, whether because of former discriminatory statutes which still had some influence, or because of entrenched prejudices, the stronger forces in society overcame the practical equality between the sexes which the law demanded. This balance could be overcome only by according the weaker group a preferred status.

Justice Mazza then referred to the Basic Law: The Dignity and Freedom of Man, of 1992, and numerous Israeli precedents and legal texts dealing with discrimination. Discrimination against women was widespread in Israel as in many so-called enlightened countries. This discrimination in the business world had a crushing effect on women's equality in general.

Section 18(A) was to be regarded as a material normative innovation in our law and, as in Canada, a basic factor in achieving equality.

Turning to the clause "as far as circumstances permit" in section 18(A), Justice Mazza held that each case was to be judged on its merits.

Giving examples of difficulties which could arise where male and female candidates possessed similar qualifications, he stressed that perhaps a balance had to be struck between appointing a woman or



an even more experienced man.

It was for the appointing authority to show - and this would not be easy - that, after full inquiry, the appointment of a woman was impossible in the circumstances.

Justice Mazza added that it could be necessary in certain cases for the minister to go beyond his own ministry and seek a suitable female candidate elsewhere. He could perhaps consult public organizations, such as universities or professional bodies, for this purpose. He was obliged to take all reasonable steps to find a suitable female candidate.

After fully analyzing the affidavits filed, Justice Mazza held that the government and the ministers concerned had made the appointments in utter disregard of a specific statutory provision. The proper course, therefore, was to set the appointments aside, notwithstanding the possible damage to the appointees.

In this context, Justice Mazza again stressed that their qualities and qualifications were fully recognized. There was no bar whatsoever to their appointment as directors of government companies. However, citing precedents, he held that any possible damage to them could not stand against the damage to the community resulting from unlawful procedures and appointments.

He therefore proposed that the petition be allowed, the appointments be set aside on December 31, 1994, and the state be ordered to pay the petitioner's costs in the sum of NIS 10,000.

JUSTICE ZAMIR concurred, but dissented from the reliance placed by Justice Mazza on the Basic Law: The Dignity and Freedom of Man, of 1992.

Justice Mazza, he said, had described that Basic Law as a kind of super-statute. The principle of equality, however, had been recognized in the Declaration of the Establishment of the State. The courts had relied on that declaration and other sources in applying the principle of equality in interpreting statutes. There was no need to introduce the above Basic Law in construing section 18(A).

The Basic Law, Justice Zamir continued, was of practical significance in one respect alone - that it empowered the court to invalidate a new statute which was inconsistent with the principle of equality.

Precedents decided after the Basic Law were full of superfluous comments (obiter dicta), dealing mainly with the dignity of man, creating the impression that that concept "was the whole law on one foot." In his view, such comments should be avoided.

Section 18(A) laid down the principle of equality within the context of affirmative action, and the court only interpreted and applied the section in the accepted manner.

JUSTICE KEDMI dissented from his colleagues.

The vital element in section 18(A), he said, was the proviso "as far as circumstances permit," which was always to be considered.

He agreed with Justice Mazza that the requirement "adequately represented" depended on the circumstances of each case. The appointing authority was to act in two stages. He was first to decide if there was adequate representation of both sexes; if not, he was to appoint a suitable director or directors to fill the gap, subject to the above proviso.

The test of the lawfulness of the authority's acts in regard to both stages was that of reasonableness. In seeking suitable candidates, a minister was to receive lists of male and female candidates in his ministry or in bodies connected with his ministry's operations.

It was unreasonable to require a minister to "take all possible steps" and seek candidates by other means, as submitted by the lobby.

The above proviso, also in the context of affirmative action, required giving precedence to the demands on the director to be appointed, and his qualifications for the task, Justice Kedmi continued. These, as always, were still the governing considerations to which all others were subsidiary.

Turning to the facts of the appointments before the court, Justice Kedmi found that there was no flaw in Hayek's appointment which demanded its cancellation.

There was a flaw in the appointment of Kashuv and Wagner, since the minister had not been given a list of female candidates. This, however, did not in the circumstances justify the setting aside of their appointment which, from the point of view of their suitability and qualifications, was fully justified.

Justice Kedmi added that the IWN had not troubled to bring before the court a list of female candidates whose qualifications would surpass those of the candidates appointed. He also held that it was for a petitioner who challenged the legality of the minister's actions to prove his case.

Justice Kedmi therefore proposed that the petitions be dismissed, subject to the court pointing out the flaw in the appointments of Kashuv and Wagner.

IN THE result, and by majority decision, an order was made as proposed by Justice Mazza.

Rivka Meier-Olshtzki and Rachel Ben-Ziman appeared for the lobby; Osnat Mandel, senior assistant state attorney, appeared for the state; Miriam Sheller appeared for the refineries; and the other respondents appeared in person.

The judgments were given on November 1, 1994.

## Identity tags for polluters

EARTHLY CONCERNS  
D'VORA BEN SHAUL

BY the end of next year, if a refinery or power plant or factory is causing air pollution, or if an oil slick washes ashore, it will be possible to identify the source of the pollutant.

Isotag, a Texas-based chemical company, has developed a system of chemical tagging using the isotope deuterium that takes the guesswork out of identification.

For instance, if there are several factories, refineries, power plants and so on in one area, and the scrubbers on one particular plant's smokestack are defective, it will be easy to spot which one.

That's because the plant will be burning fuel that has been tagged with its own chemical code. This is accomplished by adding a small amount - only a few parts per billion - of fuel in which deuterium replaces some specific hydrogen atoms. The same process can be used for crude oil and for any liquid or gas, from printer's ink to gasoline.

It will also be possible to tag waste water from industry and track it, if necessary. Toxic chemicals will also bear an identification that will lead right back to the dumper.

The company says the tags are specifically tailored: since very small amounts are used, it will be virtually impossible for anyone who does not know which component was tagged, or in what amounts, to tamper with or even identify the tags.

Overall, the tags will be similar to the now popular bar code on packaged goods. All pertinent information and formulas will be kept in a secure system at the main Isotag laboratory. The first tags are expected on the market in 1995.

NOT only will these tags pinpoint polluters, but they will also fulfill a real need in security systems.

Fake copies of lithographs, for example, could be spotted because the originals were printed with a tagged ink. Tags could also prove useful in preventing the theft of oil or gas from pipelines.

One major American oil company says it loses as much as a million dollars a month from such thefts, but unless the thief is caught in the act, nothing can be done.

Once the fuel is out of the pipeline and into a tank, it's impossible at the moment to prove where it came from.

The same holds true for many oil refineries and for chemical plants. The theft of fertilizers, for instance, results in millions of dollars lost every year.

There will be a real problem in getting legislation that obligates potential polluters to use only the tagged materials. This battle will have to be fought locally everywhere in the world.

Not everyone is going to be happy about an idea that involves some cost and forces industries to abide by the law.

Even now, lobbyists in the US are preparing for the first round in the fight, expected early next year.

## Big Brother is smelling your breath - over the phone

RICK CALLAHAN  
DANVILLE, Indiana

LEON Ford knows he'd better not have been drinking when he answers that black telephone. It has an electronic nose that sniffs his breath and calls his probation officer if it smells trouble.

Ford has one of 50 special telephones the Hendricks County

Probation Department began using in April to keep tabs on people sentenced to home detention instead of jail.

For people required to shun liquor because of alcohol-related offenses such as drunk driving, the phones turn into teetotaling watchdogs.

If the time-sized sensors in the mouthpiece detect alcohol, offenders could end up in jail for violating probation.

People sentenced to home detention wear an ankle bracelet that tracks their movements. When they're not at work, they must be at home to take calls on the special phones. They aren't told about the sensors.

Throughout the day, a computer calls at random times and a recording asks the offenders to repeat their name, social security number and the time. They use verification "keys" attached to

their bracelets to answer the phone so authorities know who is speaking.

After three alcohol-positive calls, the computer pages a probation officer, who goes to the home to conduct a breathalyzer test.

"I can keep my home and keep my job. If you're in jail you'd lose everything," Ford said. "I can't imagine anyone thinking it's intrusive. It's a break, a privilege."

The American Civil Liberties Union isn't so sure. "That's really tipping the balance into an unwarranted invasion of privacy. I haven't heard of it until now, but it's something we'll be looking into. It sounds so bizarre," said Nkechi Taifa, legislative counsel for the national ACLU in Washington.

Participants reimburse the county \$3.25 a day for the phones. About 1,500 units are being used throughout the US. (AP)



Tuesday, October 10.  
Succot, 1995

## HEALTH AND BEAUTY SUPPLEMENT

On December 9, The Jerusalem Post will be publishing a special supplement on Alternative Medicine and Natural Beauty Cosmetology.

Companies or individuals who wish to advertise in the supplement should contact Smadar Ratinsky, Tel. 03-6390333, Fax. 03-6390277.

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Domestic Debate on Japan's International Role  
Yasuaki Onuma, Professor of International Law  
at the University of Tokyo

Changing Role of Family and Women in Japanese Society  
Sumiko Iwao, Professor of Social Psychology at the Institute  
of Communication Research, Keio University

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Professor of Sociology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

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opened by:

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Pacific Basin Arts Communication

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## BUSINESS &amp; FINANCE

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1994

## Last winter declared a natural disaster

Government sets aside NIS 95 million compensation for farmers

THE government yesterday declared last winter a natural disaster in the fruit and citrus fields and has decided to compensate farmers a total of NIS 95 million.

NIS 70m. will be distributed to fruit growers and NIS 25m. to citrus grove growers for the uncharacteristically high temperatures that limited crop production.

The Agriculture Ministry will begin to distribute the compensation during the next few days, according to an agreement reached among the Fruit Board and the

agriculture and finance ministries.

According to the agreement, individual farmers will receive their share of the natural disaster compensation, subtracted from profits earned during the 1993 summer season, when fruit prices were very high.

The Fruit Growers Association said the bad weather conditions led to the loss of 100,000 tons of fruit — some 34,000 dunams of plantations did not yield fruit and another 25,000 dunams were severely damaged.

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

The last time the government declared a natural disaster was 1991, an Agriculture Ministry spokesman said. That year the agriculture sector suffered from especially stormy weather, which led to the destruction of many dunams of fruits and vegetables.

Tsur said the current shortage in vegetables is expected to continue for the next several months. He said the situation demonstrates that the agriculture sector cannot

determine produce prices based only on free market conditions.

Tsur proposed that the government agree to his plan, which calls for an automatic approval of imports when the price of a particular fruit or vegetable increases more than 200 percent of production costs.

If the price of agriculture produce drops below 80% of farmers' production costs, Tsur proposed the government intervene by removing the surplus to insure a minimum price to farmers.

The ministry said most vegetable prices had fallen 20% from last week.

The wholesale price of tomatoes fell to NIS 8-NIS 9 per kilo after reaching NIS 10 at the end of last week.

Meanwhile, the first shipment of tomatoes from Jordan arrived yesterday. The five-ton shipment was transferred to Jerusalem's wholesale market.

The previous shipment was canceled after testing positive for insecticides and fungus.

## Clal Insurance to gain full control of Ararat

GALIT LIPKIS

CLAL Insurance Business Holdings will pay NIS 140 million to gain full control of its subsidiary, Ararat Insurance Company.

Clal Insurance currently holds 82.3 percent of Ararat shares, while the remaining ones are held by the public.

The company yesterday published a tender offering to buy stocks from Ararat's shareholders for 25% more than the value of the shares on the stock exchange.

The tender offer will be completed before December 31 so shareholders will not be subject to the capital gains tax law, which is

expected to be implemented at the start of the year.

After the purchase, Ararat shares will not be traded on the exchange.

Clal Insurance's board of directors approved the transaction at the end of last week after receiving approval from Supervisor of Insurance Meir Savit. The transaction is among the largest concluded in the insurance sector during the last few years.

After the purchase, Clal Insurance will become the largest insurance company in the country.

The decision to purchase all of Ararat's shares is part of the Clal Group's plan to strengthen its insurance division.

Clal expects the purchase to reduce costs and simplify management of the division.

## First Int'l Mortgage, subsidiary post sharp increases in net earnings

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

FIRST International Mortgage Bank (FIMB) and its subsidiary, Atzmaut Mortgage and Development, have reported a dramatic rise in their net earnings in the third quarter.

FIMB posted a 178 percent rise in third quarter net profits to NIS 5.89 million from NIS 2.12m. during the same period last year.

In the first nine months, net profits increased to NIS 13.92m. from NIS 12.09m. Net return on equity was 9.2% on an annual ba-

sis, compared with 8.7% in the corresponding period last year.

Management attributed the growth in nine-month earnings mainly to a rise in earnings from financing operations and a drop in provisions for doubtful debts.

Earnings from financing operations increased 5.7% to NIS 39.9m., while provisions for doubtful debts fell 19.6% to NIS 5.48m.

Atzmaut Mortgage and Development Bank reported a 147% increase in third quarter net profits to NIS 2.75m. from NIS 1.11m.

In the first nine months of the year, net profits increased 16.4% to NIS 6.1m. Net return on equity went up to 9.9% from 9.3% on an annual basis.

Total assets increased 3.7% to NIS 1.44b., and credit to the public rose 3.7% to NIS 1.43b.

Total deposits rose 3.7% to NIS 1.35b.

## Terms of trade worsen in third quarter

JOSE ROSENFELD

THE country's terms of trade worsened during the third quarter, as import prices surged ahead of export prices, the Central Bureau of Statistics reported yesterday.

The prices of import goods, excluding diamonds, rose three percent, while import prices increased a more moderate 1.6% in the third quarter.

As a result, the terms of trade index fell 1.5%, following a 2.6% drop in the second quarter.

Raw material import prices rose 3.4%, reflecting higher commod-

ity prices, while consumer import prices increased 3.2% in the third quarter.

Machine, equipment and vehicle import price increases were relatively moderate at 2.3%. Industrial export prices rose 1.8%, after increasing 1% in the previous quarter.

Textile and clothing export prices shot up 3.5%, while machine and electronic export prices rose a more moderate 2%.

Industrial imports, excluding diamonds, jumped 12% quantitatively in the first nine months of the year compared to the same period last year.

Quantitative consumer imports shot up 18% during the period, compared to the same period last year.

The quantity of production inputs imports, excluding fuel and diamonds, rose 10% in the same period.

Machine and equipment imports surged 14%.

## BUSINESS BRIEFS

Three of seven groups bidding for Israel Chemicals disqualified:

The Government Companies Authority disqualified three out of the seven groups that bid for a 24.9 percent controlling share in Israel Chemicals (ICL), Treasury spokesman Eli Yoseph confirmed yesterday. The groups were eliminated for failing to meet the authority's financial structure and capital requirements.

In the coming weeks, the four remaining groups will begin a due-diligence review of ICL, visiting the company and checking its books. The authority will then negotiate a price on the shares for sale with each of the parties individually. The sale is expected to be completed by the end of January. It will be followed a month later by an international issue of 22% of ICL's shares.

**Ministry approves \$92 million in projects:** The Industry and Trade Ministry's Investment Center yesterday approved 15 projects whose total cost is an estimated \$92 million. Six of the projects are for tourism facilities, while the other ventures are for industrial facilities.

The construction of the new Jerusalem Hilton, at a cost of \$44.8m., is one of the tourism projects. The hotel, to be located in Mamilla, will have 365 rooms, conference halls, and a health club. A three-star hotel will be built at Mandelbaum Gate, at a cost of \$10.6m.

**Haifa-area workers plan to hold protest rally today:** Some 5,000 workers from the Haifa area plan to hold a rally today to protest the rising unemployment. Employees from Rafael, Israel Shipyards, Military Industries, Paz, Sonol, and Delek are expected to participate in the demonstration.

**Bezek's salary costs up NIS 150 million in real terms:** Wage agreements signed by the government have increased Bezek's salary costs this year by NIS 150 million in real terms, Bezek chairman Moshe Haba said yesterday. This, he said, compounds the company's problems resulting from erosion of phone rates by 6.5 percent. These rates are also controlled by the government.

Haba demanded that Bezek be allowed to carry out negotiations independently with its workers and to link wage rises with increased productivity. This will help the company compete with private telecommunications companies, he said.

**Delegation leaves for R&D talks with EC:** A delegation — led by Dr. Shuki Gleitman, chief scientist for the Industry and Trade Ministry; Zvi Yanai, Science Ministry director-general, and Ambassador to the EC Mordechai Dror — left yesterday for the next round of negotiations on Israeli participation in the EC's research and development plan.

**Africa Israel raises NIS 80 million through public offering:** Africa Israel raised NIS 80 million through a public offering of its shares on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange last week. The issue was oversubscribed 2:1. Capital market analysts said the issue was very successful considering last week's sharp drop in the value of securities traded on the stock exchange.

**Leumi offers life insurance of up to NIS 500,000 for customers:** Bank Leumi is offering free life insurance of up to NIS 500,000 to those with saving plans at the bank. Leumi is offering three types of saving plans which incorporate the free life insurance benefit: a two-year, index-linked savings plan at a 2.5% annual interest rate, a five-year, index-linked plan at a 3% annual interest, and a three-year, monthly payment savings plan.

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## Digital Israel suffers quarterly net loss of \$154 million

## COMPANY RESULTS

RACHEL NEIMAN

DIGITAL (Israel) has reported a quarterly net loss of \$154 million, compared with losses of \$131m. for the parallel period last year.

The company considers the quarter ending September 30 as the first quarter of 1995.

Malibu has announced third quarter net profits of NIS 6.7m., compared with a net loss of NIS 3.2m. for the same period last year.

Revenues fell to NIS 88.5m. from NIS 94.4m., while earnings

per share were NIS 0.48.

For the nine-month period, the company had a net loss of NIS 26m., compared with a net loss of NIS 8.98m. for the same period last year.

Industrial Buildings has reported an increase in third quarter net profits to NIS 551,000 from

NIS 287,000 during the same period last year.

Revenues rose to NIS 11m. from NIS 7.2m., while earnings per share went up to NIS 0.15 from NIS 0.08.

Net profits for the nine-month period were NIS 2.1m., compared with a loss of NIS 1.3m.

Revenues went up to NIS 32.6m. from NIS 19m., while earnings per share were NIS 0.56.

Cables of Zion has reported a third quarter net loss of NIS 2.3m., compared with a net profit of NIS 1.4m. for the same period last year.

Revenues fell to NIS 37.6m. from NIS 52.2m.

For the first nine months, the company reported a net loss of NIS 5.8m., compared with a net gain of NIS 10.1m.

Revenues dropped to NIS 111.7m. from NIS 169.8m.

Mei Eden has posted a 144% rise in net profits for the third quarter to NIS 8.5m. from NIS 3.48m. during the same period last year.

Revenues went up to NIS 30.7m. from NIS 29.3m., while earnings per share more than doubled to NIS 0.72 from NIS 0.30.

Net profits for the nine-month period increased to NIS 8m. from NIS 6.9m. during the same period last year.

Revenues rose to NIS 73.5m. from NIS 65.6m., while earnings per share rose to NIS 0.68 from NIS 0.60.

Electra Consumer Products has announced a 97% rise in third quarter net profits to NIS 9.5m. from NIS 4.8m. during the same period last year.

Revenues went up to NIS 191m. from NIS 94m., while earnings per share rose to NIS 0.61 from NIS 0.40.

Nine-month figures rose to NIS 20.7m. from NIS 13.2m. Revenues went up to NIS 473.6m. from NIS 259m. while earnings per share rose to NIS 1.34 from NIS 1.10.

Fechtwanger Industries has reported a rise in third quarter net profits to NIS 10m. from NIS 1m. for the same period last year.

Revenues increased to NIS 68.27m. from NIS 57m., while earnings per share rose sharply to NIS 3.72 from 0.51.

For the nine-month period, net profits jumped to NIS 20.6m. from NIS 2.3m.

## ISRAELI MONEY MARKETS

Patiah (foreign currency deposit rates) (21.11.94)				
Currency (deposit term)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS	
U.S. dollar (\$500,000)	4.75%	5.50%	6.125%	
U.S. dollar (\$100,000)	4.75%	5.50%	6.125%	
U.S. dollar (\$20,000)	4.125%	4.25%	4.875%	
Swiss franc (CHF 200,000)	2.875%	3.00%	3.375%	
Yen (10 million yen)	0.750%	0.875%	1.250%	

(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (18.11.94)				
Currency	Buy	Sell	Banknotes	Rep.
U.S. dollar	3.3500	3.3970	2.95	3.07
German mark	3.0020	3.0443	2.95	3.09
French franc	1.9305	1.9577	1.90	1.93
Japanese yen (100)	4.7131	4.7796	4.62	4.64
Dutch guilder	0.5816	0.5896	0.54	0.58
Swiss franc	3.0545	3.0971	2.90	3.01
Italian lira (1,000)	1.7200	1.7443	1.68	1.71
Spanish peseta (100)	2.2705	2.3088	2.24	2.27
Swedish krona	0.4824	0.4884	0.46	0.47
Norwegian kroner	0.4405	0.4465	0.43	0.44
British pound	0.4825	0.4885	0.46	0.47
Portuguese escudo	0.6317	0.6387	0.61	0.62
Canadian dollar	2.1944	2.2294	2.15	2.20
Australian dollar	2.2710	2.3060	2.21	2.26
S. African rand	0.5485	0.5545	0.52	0.53
Belgian franc (10)	0.9414	0.9546	0.93	0.94
Austrian schilling (10)	2.7407	2.7757	2.69	2.74
Italian lira (1,000)	1.8225	1.8575	1.84	1.89
Jordanian dinar	—	—	4.25	4.51
Israeli shekel	—	—	0.86	0.91
Spanish peseta (100)	3.9878	3.7187	4.52	4.80
Israeli shekel	4.5208	4.8358	4.52	4.80
Israeli shekel	2.5199	2.3528	2.28	2.41

\* These rates vary according to bank. \*\* Bank of Israel.

SOURCE: BANK LEUMI

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Key Representative Rates	
US dollar	NIS 3.0260
Starling	NIS 4.7416
Mark	NIS 1.9432

## GM shares tumble on fallout from meeting

ETROIT (Reuters) - The stock of General Motors Corp. tumbled today to its lowest level in 19 months, just a day after the embattled automaker held a meeting with Wall Street analysts to try to restore its credibility.

The stock of the world's largest automaker closed 75 cents lower at \$37.75 on the New York Stock Exchange.

Analysts said Thursday's meeting with investors, which was intended to ease concerns about GM's recovery, failed to erase doubts about GM's strategy.

"Apparently the consensus of investors who went to those meetings found it bearish or disappointing," said SG Warburg & Co. auto analyst David Healy.

Since zooming to \$65.375 in February, GM's stock has been stuck in reverse, skidding more than 42 percent as investors questioned both the vitality of the US auto cycle and GM's ability to take advantage of booming truck sales.

## US trade gap widens in September

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - America's trade deficit widened in September as a vigorous domestic economy drew in a rising tide of imports while export sales ebbed, the Commerce Department said over the weekend.

The shortfall between sales of American-made goods and services overseas and the value of all imports climbed 4.6 percent to \$10.1 billion from \$9.7b. in August. Exports fell while imports, led by record purchases of foreign oil, increased for a fifth straight month.

"We're still an economy spending more than we're producing," said economist Robert Derdick of Northern Trust Co. in Chicago, in part because the US economy is growing so much more strongly than those of key trading partners in Western Europe and Japan.

In fact, the deficit with Japan shrank 7.4% in September to \$5.4b. - the lowest since \$4.4b. in May.

But progress on that Asian trade front was overshadowed by an 8% jump in the deficit with China to a record \$3.5b.

Total exports - including everything sold to foreigners from hard goods like cars and machinery to services like investment advice - weakened in September by 0.5% to \$59.7b.

Imports increased for a fifth straight month, rising 0.3% to a record \$69.8b.

In September, the deficit on merchandise alone widened to \$14.6b. from \$14.1b. in August. The surplus on services was up to \$4.5b. from \$4.4b. in August.

Economist Lynn Reaser of First Interstate Bancorp in Los Angeles said the September trade report showed the vigor of the domestic economy.

But she said it pointed to a leveling-off in the big monthly deficits with Japan and suggested the trade picture should brighten in 1995.

"I believe over the next year our export growth will begin to outstrip import increases," she said. Accelerating recoveries in Japan and Western Europe should add buying power in those markets for goods that competitive US manufacturing industries will be in position to supply.

Japan regularly accounts for more than half the US's total annual trade deficit. It is the key target of the Clinton administration's efforts to break down regulatory hurdles to American-made products.

But so far, progress is tortuously slow in nearly continuous bilateral talks with Japan and in getting the overall US trade gap under control.

During the first three-quarters of 1994, Commerce Department officials said the total goods deficit was running at an annual rate of \$148.8b. during the first three quarters of 1994 - second only to the record shortfall of \$152.1b. set in 1987.

Talks are currently under way in Tokyo on Japanese proposals to cut red tape regulations that critics charge stifle trade opportunities in fields ranging from agriculture and financial services to auto parts and trade.

The Clinton administration also is engaged in a struggle at home to win approval for a GATT world trade pact that it claims could create tens of thousands of jobs and open new export opportunities.

# Investing in apartments not worthwhile now

## REAL ESTATE ROUNDUP

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

BUYING a house or apartment for the purpose of investment is not worthwhile at existing prices and rents, according to Amir Hechal, an economist for Batucha investment management company.

"A comparison of apartment prices with rent payments in the central region shows that the current yield from buying and renting out an apartment is significantly lower than the yield gained from a non-risk financial instrument," Hechal said. "This gap becomes even more illogical following a historical check which shows that investment in housing involves risk."

Hechal said the last few months' sharp drop in the value of securities traded on the stock market and the continued rise in real estate prices has encouraged investors to shift investments from the capital market to the real estate market.

"It is reasonable to assume that part of the NIS 7 billion withdrawn from the mutual funds since

the start of the year was invested in the housing market and contributed to the continued rise in apartment prices," said Hechal.

Since the start of the year apartment prices have increased 48 percent, while rent has gone up 13%. Hechal said the relatively low increase in rent is partly due to the movement of new immigrants from rented apartments to their own apartments.

The company said the current yield from renting out an apartment is 3%-4%, but from this investors have to deduct depreciation and cost of maintaining the apartment. According to the company, the net annual yield from an apartment which is rented out is equal to 2%-3% of its value.

Banks are currently offering savers average yields of 7.5% on dollar-linked savings plans and almost 4% on index-linked savings plans.

"For example, an investor who owns an apartment worth \$200,000 loses about \$10,000 per year if he rents it out instead of

selling the apartment and investing the proceeds of the sale in a savings plan [disregarding changes in apartment prices]," said the company.

The Interior Ministry and Tel Aviv district building committee approved David Azrieli's Shalom Center's city building plan last week.

Canit, developers of the Shalom Center, plan to start development work next week.

The Shalom Center will be one of the country's largest multi-purpose real estate projects. It will have three large towers and cover 33 dunams between the Ayalon Highway and Derech Petach Tikva across from the general staff headquarters.

The Shalom Center will include 320,000 square meters of developed space, with 25,000 sq.m. of commercial space, more than

3,500 underground parking spaces, and 125,000 sq.m. of tower space, of which 15% will be set aside for private apartments.

The commercial mall section of the complex will be on two levels, with 160 stores anchored by a major department store and a supermarket and movie theaters.

The three towers, which are each scheduled to include underground parking and a roof swimming pool, will be 33, 37, and 42 stories.

Maldan, the Association of Real Estate Agents, forecasts a 15% rise in the cost of land for villas and cottages as a result of the government's decision not to allocate land for construction of villas in regions where demand is high.

According to Maldan, the price of a 250 sq.m. plot in Shikun Dan is about \$270,000, the price of a half-dunam plot in south Tel Aviv

is about \$500,000, and the price of a half-dunam plot in Ramat Hasharon is about \$600,000.

A 300 sq.m. plot in Holon costs about \$200,000, while a similar sized apartment in Ramat Gan is sold for \$300,000.

About 100 luxury apartments will be constructed in Old Jaffa, the Old Jaffa Development Company announced this week.

The Tel Aviv District Committee has approved a plan to turn the building, which was previously occupied by The Israel Experience, into an apartment block.

The building will include 29 apartments of 120 sq.m. and underground parking. Apartments facing the sea will be sold for about \$350,000, while those without a sea view will cost about \$300,000.

On the front of Jaffa's port, facing the boat anchorage, 14 two-room luxury apartments will be constructed. The 75-sq.m. apartments will be sold for about \$350,000.

The Caliph nightclub in Jaffa is to be converted into an apartment building containing 30 luxury apartments.

The 100-sq.m. apartments will be sold for about \$300,000.

Another 14 similar sized apartments will be constructed close to the nightclub on a 1,300 plot, and an additional 10 apartments will be built adjacent to the plot.

Developers of the Elisha Towers senior citizens home announced the sale of half the 200 apartments available in the luxury development.

Gad Zavi constructed the 12,000-sq.m. development, about 200 sq.m. from the Carmel Center in Haifa. The development includes one-and-a-half, two- and two-and-a-half room apartments, as well as penthouse apartments.

Rishon LeZion plans to hold an apartment fair in Canion Hazahav during Hanukkah.

About 20 construction companies and mortgage banks will take part in the fair.

## France launches privatization of loss-making Bull computers

PARIS (Reuters) - France launched the privatization of loss-making computer maker Cile des Machines Bull over the weekend, when the Economy Ministry said it was open to offers from private companies willing to take over the firm.

The ministry said it was launching a tender to transfer part of Bull's capital to the private sector. Private interests could take control of the company and may pay for their stakes by pumping in new capital or buying shares from the government.

"The state's objective is that this operation will enable the company to have a coherent and stable group of private shareholders, allowing it to face up to future challenges and to reinforce its industrial strategies," the ministry said.

France has pumped billions into propping up Bull over the years in the belief that Europe needs its own computer industry to avoid dependence on Japanese and US

products.

But it has already sought to ease the strain by seeking funds abroad.

Japan's NEC and International Business Machines Corp (IBM) of the US have respectively 4.4 percent and 2.1% of Bull, one of 21 firms in a \$100 billion privatization campaign the government launched a year ago.

US communications firm AT&T Corp. is interested in a big investment, sources say.

Unlike previous popular sell-offs, like that completed this week of carmaker Renault, the general public is not being offered shares in this awkward case.

Bull made a net loss of FR 5.07 billion (\$948 million) in 1993, bringing to FR 19.9b. its accumulated losses since 1990.

The company last made money in 1988, and has shed jobs and assets heavily.

Some industry analysts say Bull, which runs Zenith computers in the US, may be worth \$1.2b. or so.

The state owns 75.8% of it directly, with a further 17% held by state telephone utility France Telecom.

Last month, the European Commission approved the final tranche of an FR 11.1b. (\$2.1b.) public cash injection on condition that Bull was restructured and privatized.

The ministry asked firms interested in taking a majority stake or minority stake of more than 10% to put in bids spelling out how they would run the company by December 9.

According to the ministry's timetable, a final decision on a buyer or buyers could not be made before late January.

Of the existing shareholders, NEC is reported to be interested in increasing its stake to above 10%, while IBM has said its own restructuring needs have priority.

Another US firm, Motorola, with which Bull has a partnership in selling the PowerPC microchip,

has also been reported as holding talks with French officials.

Sources said that AT&T had formed a joint venture with France's Quadral, a holding company for electronics firms Cile des Signaux, to buy 40% of Bull.

Heavily in debt until the end of 1992, when net borrowings stood at FR 10.30b., Bull cut that to 4.45b. at the end of last year, partly thanks to a capital increase.

Chairman Jean-Marie Descarpentries, a dynamic entrepreneur who built the Franco-British packaging combine CarmaudMetalbox, was appointed just a year ago with a difficult mission to turn Bull round.

He says the group could make an operating profit this year after an operating loss of FR 1.89b. (\$353.7m.) in 1993 and a net profit next year.

In the first half of 1994, the operating loss was FR 433m. (\$81.04m.) against FR 1.21b. (\$236.5m.) the previous year.

## Comex gold, silver ends lower

### COMMODITIES ROUNDUP

COMEX gold and silver ended lower on Friday, as volume was heavy in both precious metals.

Gold prices dropped after commission house sell orders were triggered after technically driven selling due to Thursday's weak close.

December gold closed \$1.40 lower at \$384.50 an ounce.

Trade selling pushed prices through key chart levels, which triggered commission house selling and caused silver to slip 9.8 cents lower to close at \$5.147 an ounce.

Copper futures ended mostly lower in choppy trading, with December futures closing unchanged at 134.55 cents.

Analysts predict that this market is severely overbought, and a volatile correction could happen at any moment.

Corn futures sank quietly in lethargic trading, with December prices down 1/2 at \$2.17-1/4. Prospects of a good crop, together with small lot profit-taking, kept any potential rallies in check.

The prospects of Egypt being offered 1.3 million tonnes of EEP wheat pushed wheat futures higher, with December futures closing up 2-1/4 to \$3.77-1/2 per bushel.

After the close the USDA did make the offer to Egypt, until late June 30, 1995, but traders say the market could be disappointed if Egypt does not buy right away.

Soybeans futures ended mixed due to slow producer selling and firm cash basis markets.

Soybean cash basis levels have risen in almost every session last week, as end users attempt to lure the product out of farmers' hands.

Some crushers are even offering free storage to producers, traders said. November futures closed down 1-3/4 to \$5.61-1/4 per bushel.

Weekend book squaring and profit-taking caused cotton futures to settle weaker, traders said. Speculators rolled over from December to March contracts ahead of first notice day this week.

December futures closed 0.50 cents lower at 74.35 cents.

CSCE world sugar ended stronger, but not much above session lows. Traders said that technical resistance levels faltered, which caused a sell-off of this commodity. March futures gained 0.06 cents to close at 13.80 cents a pound.

A broad-based sell-off caused Arabica coffee prices to fall at the trading session close to end just above five-month lows.

Speculator liquidation of the December contract - which went into notice period on Friday, coupled with last-minute producer price-fixing and technical selling - created this slide, traders said.

March futures were down 4.40 cents to close at 172.35 cents a pound.

CSCE March cocoa futures closed at \$1,324 a tonne, ending a featureless session dominated mostly by speculators in range bound trading.

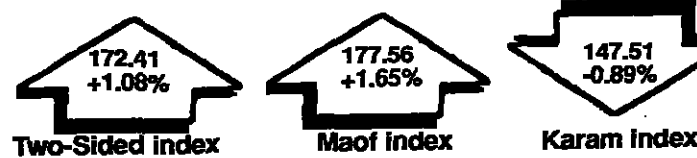
Not much action is expected this week due to the Thursday-Friday Thanksgiving holiday in the US.

Courtesy of Michael Zwebner, Comstock Trading Ltd.

## Paltry turnover dampens impact of increases in indexes

### TEL AVIV STOCK MARKET

ANDRE LUMBROSO



THE stock market did rise yesterday, but a poor NIS 113 million turnover is a clear indication that the developments are quite marginal.

The Two-Sided Index rose 1.1 percent and the Maof 1.7%.

The Karam, tied to the Two-Sided and Maof markets of the previous trading day, declined 0.9%.

The trading results were primarily a technical reaction following Thursday's results. In fact, since mid-August the market has been fluctuating between 170 and 195, although the tendency over the last month has been strictly southwards.

Turnovers remain the central aspect of the present market. As long as they remain as low as they are, there is not much hope for the present market - thus the rises and declines are relatively meaningless.

There were in fact 11 securities which were only traded on the Motez market.

This feeling was compounded by the results of Thursday's trading, where the trading in Maof options managed to dictate the developments on the market floor.

The fact that with a relatively small sum of money, say NIS 30m.-NIS 40m., it is possible to influence considerably the market and collect worthwhile gains is something that many traders are finding difficult to accept.

Obviously, had the turnovers been greater, had the provident funds played a more aggressive game on the market, those manipulations may have been difficult or at least made more difficult.

The results on the Two-Sided market were relatively mixed, with rises outnumbering the declines by a measly 2 to 1 ratio.

This was not exactly an example of enthusiasm on the part of buyers on the market.

There were sharp rises and declines, a combination of the usual factors - good or bad financial reports, manipulation of speculative securities.

Malibu published good financial results (switch from losses to profits), and its share rose by 9.7%.

Isramco continued what could be termed a recovery, and its price rose by 10.5% to reach 6.3 agorot.

Among the blue chips, Koor rose 2%, Delek 3.5% (continued reaction to favorable financial reports), Clal Israel 1%, Clal Industries 1.5%, and Bezek increased 3.8%.

TEL AVIV STOCKS									
Multi-sided trading					Two-sided trading				
Commercial					AFTERNOON				
Name	Price	Change	%	Volume	Name	Price	Change	%	Volume
Bank Leumi	172.41	+1.08%			Bank Leumi	172.41	+1.08%		
Bank Hapoalim	177.56	+1.65%			Bank Hapoalim	177.56	+1.65%		
Bank Mizrahi	147.51	-0.89%			Bank Mizrahi	147.51	-0.89%		
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THE KING IS BACK - Pete Sampras returns a backhand en route to ATP championship win over Boris Becker yesterday. (AP)

## Sampras takes ATP crown

FRANKFURT (AP) - Top-ranked Pete Sampras survived a barrage of aces from Boris Becker to beat the German 4-6, 6-3, 7-5, 6-4 yesterday and clinch his second IBM/ATP Tour World Championship title.

Sampras, who also won in 1991, became the first two-time champion since the inception of the tournament event in 1990.

"This ends the year on a great note," Sampras said.

The American collected \$1.225 million for his victory over the German, who rose to No. 3 in the rankings despite the loss. Sampras brought his 1994 earnings to \$3,607,812.

Sampras lost his serve only once, in the first set. Once he broke Becker in the second set, he took command of the match.

The critical moment came in the

sixth game, when Becker served four double-faults and suffered his first break.

Sampras, 23, had lost to Becker in two sets in the round-robin portion of the tournament, and was also beaten by the German at Stockholm Open three weeks ago.

He only advanced from the round-robin group when Becker beat Stefan Edberg Friday.

Sampras played the kind of tennis that gave him the Australian Open and Wimbledon titles, earning a career-high 10th title of the season.

An ankle injury slowed him down after Wimbledon, but he has come back strongly at the end of the season. Sampras won the EEC Championship last week.

He is the first player to rank No. 1 for the entire year since Ivan Lendl in 1987.

Although beaten by Becker in five of their previous six indoor matches, Sampras rose to the occasion yesterday, even as 9,000 fans in the Festhalle cheered for his rival.

He ended the year with a 74-11 record, and is now 6-5 against Becker in his career.

Becker, who was also seeking his second title after winning in 1992, collected \$640,000 for his runner-up finish.

The German, who will be 27 tomorrow, thundered 30 aces past Sampras, who only had 9. But Becker also had 12 double-faults, while Sampras had three in the two-hour, 99-minute match.

After the first set, Sampras faced only one more break point, a set point with Becker up 5-4, but he saved it with a scalding ace down the middle.

LANDOVER (AP) - Dee Brown crashed Chris Webber's coming-out party with the Washington Bullets, scoring 22 points and the game-winning free throw with 1.6 seconds left to give the Boston Celtics a 103-102 victory Saturday night.

Webber, obtained Thursday in a blockbuster trade with Golden State, had nine points and nine rebounds. But he missed nine of 13 shots, including a tip-in that would have given Washington a three-point lead with 20 seconds left.

Derek Strong put Boston up by a point, but Calbert Cheaney gave the lead back to Washington with three seconds to go. Rex Chapman then fouled Brown, who made both free throws.

Webber, the NBA rookie of the year last season, played 23 minutes despite not practicing with his new teammates.

Radja and Dominique Wilkins

added 21 points apiece for the Celtics, who have won three straight games.

Kaheke 92, Hawks 79

Charles Smith made for the absence of injured Patrick Ewing with 24 points, and host New York led Atlanta 61-11 to play on a basket by Andrew Lang. But Atlanta didn't score again until Lang hit two free throws with 2:36 remaining. By then the Knicks' lead was 91-76.

Rockets 109, Nuggets 101

Hakeem Olajuwon scored 26 points and Sam Cassell came off the bench for a season-high 22 as visiting Houston remained unbeaten.

It was the sixth straight road victory and ninth overall for the Midwest Division leaders and defending NBA champions.

Roggie Williams scored 26 points for the Nuggets, who lost for the second

prevented a Hawks comeback.

Herb Williams, starting in place of Ewing, had 16 points and eight rebounds, and Charles Oakley added 11 points and 15 rebounds.

The Hawks, who got 21 points from Steve Smith and 20 from Stacey Augmon, cut New York's lead to 65-74 with 6:11 to play on a basket by Andrew Lang. But Atlanta didn't score again until Lang hit two free throws with 2:36 remaining. By then the Knicks' lead was 91-76.

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# Hap Jerusalem gets hot down south

Rishon still perfect at 9-0; Gordon sinks 29 for Holon

JOEL GORDIN

WITH the resumption of the National Basketball League last night after a two-week break, Hapoel Jerusalem continues to go from strength to strength, scoring its first away win of the season, a 78-75 win over Hapoel Eilat. As a result, Jerusalem (6-3) takes over third place in the league behind Maccabi Rishon LeZion and Maccabi Tel Aviv.

The player behind Jerusalem's win was point guard Papi Turgeman who played a sizzling second half, scoring 17 points (compared to 5 in the first half).

There were some heart-stopping moments in the last minute, but the capital city hoopers kept cool heads to take the three-point win.

For Jerusalem, Turgeman scored 22 and Herbert Roberts 16. For Eilat, Andrew Kennedy sank 20, Brian Rowson 15 and Ori Lahav 13. Maccabi Jerusalem 94, Maccabi Ramat Gan 87. Jerusalem scored an important home win thanks mainly to the high-powered second-half scoring of their new American Shawn Green, who replaces

a slumping Kevin Holmes.

Green, who compensated for a disappointing display by Joe Dawson, was helped by Eli Balut who found his form after a long period in the doldrums.

The visitors are still too dependent on John Eubanks and Lamont Strohman and their lack of bench strength was evident during the hectic closing minutes. They could have clinched the game with more experienced hands and cooler heads on the court.

For Jerusalem, Green netted 32 and Dawson 19. For Ramat Gan, Eubanks scored 32 and Strohman 27. Jerusalem led 49-43 at halftime.

Hapoel Holon 88, Hapoel Givataim 80. Adi Gordon was the difference between the two teams. The stocky, dark-haired Niki Galis clone wiped the floor with the home team, banging in a massive 29 points. His red-hot shooting made up for the ice-cold form of Tomer Steinbauer and David Thordil who both seemed still to be on break.

Doron Shefi, however, had a good comeback after his injury. For Givataim, Amos Fishman sank 27. Maccabi Rishon LeZion 104, Hapoel Gvat 84. Rishon kept its unbeaten record, but the 20-point

win does not reflect the run of play. The visitors gave Rishon a good run, especially in the first half. After the break, Gvat's Americans, Derrick Gervin and Rodney Munro, lapsed into apathy and the rest of the Yitz'el Valley's team was not in the same league as the boys from Rishon. For Rishon, Gerald Padico hit 29 and Calvin Roberts 20.

For Gvat, Munro finished with 29 and Gervin 22. Hapoel Tel Aviv 86, Hapoel Haifa 67. Haifa played without their two Americans, Michael Kennedy and Denis Williams, who have left the debt-ridden club. The northern had no chance against their opponents and the game held little interest.

If funds cannot be found for Haifa, there is a danger they could turn into another Betar Ramat Gan.

Tel Aviv's top scorers were Buck Johnson (23), Milton Wagner and Shimon Amsterdam each found the range with 19. Tel Aviv held a 35-21 lead at the break.

The ninth round continues tonight when Bnei Herzliya hosts Maccabi Tel Aviv and Betar Ramat Gan plays Hapoel Gvat. The Herzliya-Maccabi clash will be shown live on Cable TV Channel 5 from 20:30.

## Celtics spoil Webber's DC debut

LANDOVER (AP) - Dee Brown crashed Chris Webber's coming-out party with the Washington Bullets, scoring 22 points and the game-winning free throw with 1.6 seconds left to give the Boston Celtics a 103-102 victory Saturday night.

Webber, obtained Thursday in a blockbuster trade with Golden State, had nine points and nine rebounds. But he missed nine of 13 shots, including a tip-in that would have given Washington a three-point lead with 20 seconds left.

Derek Strong put Boston up by a point, but Calbert Cheaney gave the lead back to Washington with three seconds to go. Rex Chapman then fouled Brown, who made both free throws.

Webber, the NBA rookie of the year last season, played 23 minutes despite not practicing with his new teammates.

Radja and Dominique Wilkins

added 21 points apiece for the Celtics, who have won three straight games.

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# Cabinet backs inquiry into fate of Yemenite children

THE cabinet yesterday authorized Justice Minister David Liba'i to notify the Knesset it supports the establishment of a commission of inquiry into the disappearance of Yemenite children during the 1950s.

Liba'i had brought five private member's bills on the issue - introduced by Avigdor Kahalani (La-

bor), David Mena, Yehoshua Matza, and Ron Nahman (all Likud), and Eliezer Zandberg (Tsimet) - to the cabinet.

The cabinet, however, did not make a formal decision on the matter, as it is awaiting the report of the commission, headed by re-

Jerusalem Post Staff

tired judge Moshe Shalgi, which was appointed by former premier Yitzhak Shamir to investigate the subject.

Liba'i advised that it was better to delay a formal decision until Shalgi submits his report. He also noted that legislation establishing such a

commission is unnecessary, as the cabinet has the authority to do so.

He also noted that the work of both the Shalgi Commission and the earlier Bahaloul Commission would be made available to the new commission, which would conduct its inquiry in public and would have greater powers than the Shalgi Commission.



Tourism Minister Uzi Baram examines the 'Man of the Year in Tourism' award presented yesterday to Shlomo Grofman (left), general manager of Africa Israel, as President Ezer Weizman, who presented the award, looks on. (Isaac Harari)

## New envoys trigger controversy

DAVID MAKOVSKY

THE cabinet yesterday approved three diplomatic appointments, two of which were controversial.

The three are David Dadon, a Foreign Ministry veteran, to head Israel's new liaison office in Morocco; Tamar Golan, a journalist for Ma'ariv, to head Israel's new embassy in Angola, and Asher Wisnonsky, as consul-general to Berlin.

Dadon is already serving in Morocco, pending official confirmation. But the other two appointments have drawn fire from both inside and outside the ministry.

Wisnonsky, a businessman who has served as the head of the Givat Shmuel Local Council, has been a political backer of Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. While Golan is known to have extensive knowledge of Africa, she was criticized by Foreign Ministry staffers for having left the country many years ago to live in Paris.

Both Wisnonsky and Golan are among the 11 political appointees that Peres is permitted to appoint to foreign posts, under an agree-

ment with the Foreign Ministry workers committee. With yesterday's appointments, the limit of political appointees has been reached.

This could pose a problem for Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who is rumored to favor deputy Mossad director Ephraim Halevy as the next envoy to Jordan. If Halevy is disqualified on grounds that no more political appointees are permitted, this could help the chances of the candidate favored by the Foreign Ministry, deputy director-general Eitan Benzur.

## Ring forged documents to bring hookers from CIS

AMIR ROZENBLIT

THE remnants of seven prostitutes, who apparently were brought into the country from the CIS with forged documents so they could work at three Beersheba clubs, were extended for seven days yesterday by Beersheba Magistrate's Court.

The clubs in question, Beersheba police chief Uzi Rosen said yesterday, are actually brothels.

"We have been investigating

these places for a long time," he said, "not only because they are brothels, but also because other more serious crimes such as forgery, fraud, and even violence are involved."

Last Tuesday, police raided the clubs and arrested their owners and 12 prostitutes. In similar raids two months ago, 14 hookers were

arrested, seven of whom had forged IDs. They had apparently been recruited in the CIS, and brought here illegally to work as prostitutes. They have all been deported.

The police, in cooperation with the Interior Ministry and the Southern Region District Attorney's Office, are continuing the investigation and hope to uncover the suppliers of the forged IDs.

## Histadrut hires 55 lawyers

MICHAEL YUELMAN

THE Histadrut executive yesterday approved the expansion and reorganization of its legal counseling department, for which 55 new attorneys were recruited during the past few weeks.

Histadrut Chairman Haim Ramon said that this is an important step in turning the Histadrut into an organization that serves the individual member.

The attorneys will work out of 15 regional offices, offering advice to workers on employer-employee matters, and representation in court, for a symbolic fee, regardless of the worker's income.

The new lawyers, whose salaries will run some NIS 10 million annually, were hired despite the Histadrut's financial plight and the mass dismissals its leadership recently initiated.

The expansion of the department was embarked upon following surveys indicating that legal counseling and representation is the service most in demand by workers.

## Suspect remanded in \$600,000 mail theft

RAINE MARCUS

A JERUSALEM man, who fled the country in September 1993 after being arrested on suspicion of stealing a mailbag containing \$600,000 worth of travelers' checks, was remanded for five days by Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Adnan Awadallah, 33, of Ras el-Amud, was recently released from a Greek prison, where he served a 12-month sentence for fraudulently cashing \$7,000 in stolen travelers' checks.

## Israel ratifies convention on hazardous waste

Jerusalem Post Staff

THE government yesterday unanimously approved Israel's participation in the Basel Convention regulating the international transport of hazardous waste.

Environment Minister Yossi Sarid, who presented the convention before the cabinet for ratification, said the agreement has direct implications for local industries.

If the convention had not been ratified, said Sarid, Israel would not be able to import or export hazardous waste, even those which serve as raw material for industries here.

Beyond the importance of cooperating to protect the environment from dangerous materials, the ratification of a global convention is an important diplomatic step, said Sarid. Many countries have signed the treaty, he noted, adding that the environment is a major topic on the international agenda.

The convention was drafted in 1989, when representatives of 150 countries gathered to discuss the

problem of eliminating the millions of tons of hazardous and poisonous waste produced each year, mostly in industrialized countries.

At the end of the meeting, 34 countries signed the convention. Since then, it has been ratified by 52 countries. It came into effect on May 5, 1992.

Israel signed the convention in 1989 but, like the EU, only ratified it this year. The convention has 29 articles and five appendices which include a commitment to establish special storage facilities for hazardous waste.

Sarid said the proper disposal of hazardous waste is a priority for the Environment Ministry.

The ministry's policy of prohibiting the import or export of hazardous waste for the purpose of disposal is in keeping with the Basel Convention, he said.

Most of the country's waste is sent to the Ramat Hovav toxic waste dump, which is run by the government.

## Poll: Yi'ud would betray voters by joining coalition

EVELYN GORDON

THREE-quarters of the population thinks Yi'ud would be violating the will of its voters by joining the government, according to a Gallup poll released yesterday.

The poll also showed that 64 percent of the public thinks that MKs who wish to leave their party should return their mandate to the party.

The poll of 359 voters was commissioned by Knesset Watch, a parliamentary watchdog group established by Professors for a Strong Israel. It has a margin of error of 5%.

According to the poll, 76% think Yi'ud would be opposing its voters' will by joining the government, while 11% think it would be obeying its voters' will, and 13% said they did not know.

In addition, 64% of those questioned said they thought MKs who wished to leave their party should give up their seats.

Only 28% said they thought such MKs should "continue to act according to their conscience and the platform of the party they are leaving." Eight percent, were undecided.

Knesset Watch chairman Eli

Pollak said his group commissioned the poll in response to claims by MK Gonen Segev, Yi'ud's leader, that he had received many calls from Tsomet voters supporting his move.

Gallup has not yet prepared a breakdown of the poll's results according to political party.

Pollak said he hopes the poll will influence the Knesset's deliberations on legislation aimed at enabling Yi'ud to join the coalition, since experience shows that MKs do respond to public opinion.

For instance, he said, before Knesset Watch began its work in May, MKs from Likud, Tsomet, NRP, and Moledet had a 10.2% absence rate from no-confidence votes, while MKs from Labor, Meretz, DAP, and Hadash had an 8.3% absence rate.

During the remainder of the summer session, after Knesset Watch began raising an outcry over this, the opposition absence rate dropped to 5.7% and the coalition absence rate to 6.7%.

Since the start of the winter session, the absence rate has been 4.5% for the opposition and 4% for the coalition, Pollak said.

## Oron denies corruption by former Histadrut leaders

MICHAEL YUELMAN

HISTADRUT Treasurer Haim Oron yesterday denied allegations that former top Histadrut officials had "secret" bank accounts abroad or that there is any evidence of irregularities in Histadrut foreign bank accounts.

The allegations were spread by Histadrut leaders, who sent Histadrut legal adviser Yaron Kedar to the US to examine the Histadrut's bank accounts. They suspected that former Histadrut leaders had kept large sums of money in secret bank accounts there. It was also alleged that unauthorized transfers of large sums were made to various bodies.

Histadrut Executive Committee chairman Ran Cohen intimated that the leadership suspected that not all the details concerning the Histadrut's foreign accounts from the days of the former leadership were out in the open.

Former secretary-general Haim

Haberfeld and former treasurer Artur Yisraelovitz both denied knowledge of foreign bank accounts, personal or otherwise. Yisraelovitz said the Histadrut had no bank accounts abroad, but that various funds which contributed to it, kept accounts in New York from which they transferred money to the Histadrut after deducting operating costs.

He noted that neither he nor his wife had ever had a bank account abroad and that he himself had never been to the US.

Oron said that the allegations concerning irregularities were "blown out of all proportion. I certainly did not receive any such information and if I had, I would have reported it to the police immediately. We did not come here to deal with investigations... If we come across any irregularity, we shall make it known at once.

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## Family courts to be set up

EVELYN GORDON

A SEPARATE network of family courts would be set up, according to a bill approved by the cabinet yesterday.

The bill, which was the brainchild of Justice Minister David Liba'i and Supreme Court President Meir Shamgar, is to be discussed today by the ministerial committee on legislation.

Liba'i explained that currently, family matters are divided between the district courts and the magistrate's courts.

Under the new system, one magistrate's court in each region will be chosen to serve as a family court, which will hear all family-related cases, and nothing else. The judges will be chosen for their knowledge and experience in such cases.

These family courts will deal with such issues as civil suits against one's spouse, for any amount of money; the size of alimony and child support payments; the division of property in divorce cases; abuse cases; parent-child disputes; and permits for intermarriages or marriages by minors.

## Another wave of Lottomania

IN anticipation of this week's top Lotto prize, which will be a minimum of NIS 18 million, some 70 percent of the adult population is expected to buy Lotto tickets, the spokesman for Mifal Hapais announced yesterday.

Residents are expected to fill out 3.2 million Lotto forms, representing 47.5 million entries, the spokesman said. Each Israeli household will fill out an average of two forms and 30 entries. Per capita spending on Lotto this week will come to NIS 11.3, or around NIS 38 per household. (Him)

## Idea to merge 'Davar' and 'Al Hamishmar'

MICHAEL YUELMAN

THE possibility of merging the Davar and Al Hamishmar newspapers was raised by Histadrut Treasurer MK Haim Oron yesterday, in light of Hakibbutz Ha'artzi's decision to sell the controlling interest in Al Hamishmar due to financial difficulties.

Hakibbutz Ha'artzi has been negotiating the sale of Al Hamishmar for a few months, and it was recently reported that a deal with Netanyahu's hotelier and contractor Yitzhak Tshuva was almost final. However, Oron said yesterday that Tshuva is not the only potential investor and that negotiations are being held with other parties as well.

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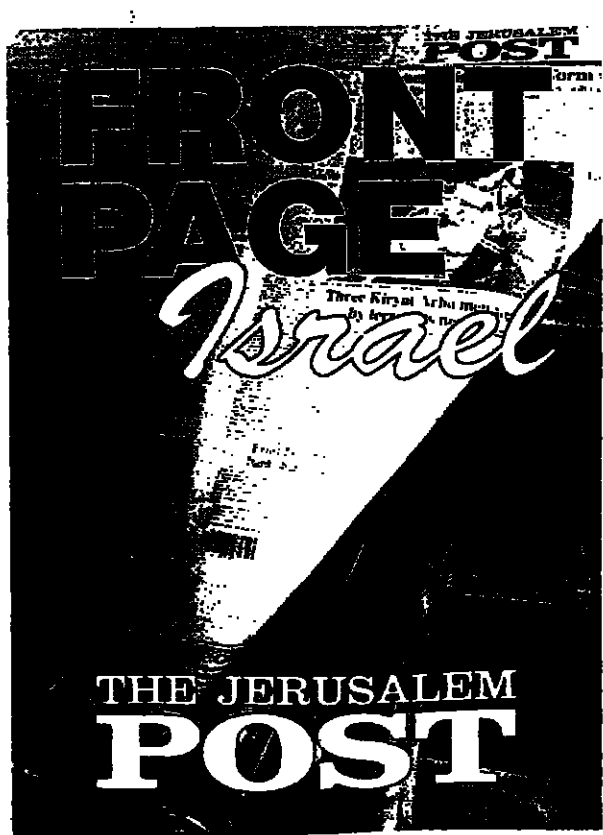
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